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DALMATIA AND MONTENEGRO:

WITH

A JOURNEY TO MOSTAR IN HERZEGOVINA,

AND

REMARKS ON THE SLAVONIC NATIONS;

THE HISTORY OF DALMATIA AND RAGUSA;

THE USCOCS; &c. &c.

BY

SIR J. GARDNER WILKINSON, F.R.S.

&c. &c. &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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ERRATA OF VOL. II.

Page 1. last line but one, for "came back," read, "had come back."
49. line 6. for "Cisla," read, "Cisto."
ib. line 19. put a comma after "grey."
77. last line, for "suggested him," read, "suggested by him."
81. line 15. for "fut l'usage," read, "est l'usage."
121. line 8. for "Turks were at war with the Venetians, and were inflicting," read, "Turks had recently been at war with the Venetians, and had inflicted."
170. line 3. for "of it, and of," read, "of it, as well as of."
179. 4 lines from bottom, for "dangers, seem to have formed," read, "dangers, formed."
206. line 7. from the bottom, for "Uscocs," read, "Scardonesi."
290. line 9. from the bottom, for "horror," read, "honour."
444. line 5. for "Theodosia," read, "Theodoric."

DALMATIA AND MONTENEGRO.

CHAP. VII.

Journey to the Narenta. — Inscriptions at Vido, the ancient Narona. — Visit to Mostar, in Herzegóvina. — Correspondence with the Vladika and the Vizir, respecting the Discontinuance of the Custom of decapitating Prisoners, and the Dead. — The Paterenes. — Blagai. — Vizir's Villa at Boona. — Return to Metcovich.

On the 24th of October I again left Spalato for Ragusa, with the intention of visiting the Narenta, and penetrating into Herzegóvina. The governor of Dalmatia, General Turzsky, being on board the steamer, I obtained from him an order, that my passport should be made out for Mostar; to which, for some imaginary reason, great difficulties are made by the Austrian authorities; and as soon as my passport had been signed at Ragusa, and the steamer came back to that place from Cattaro, I returned to Cúrzola.

The morning was most unpropitious, for our departure from Ragusa; and as the steamer lay in the bay of Gravosa, the passengers had to walk the whole way in a pouring rain, with the certainty of being well drenched, and little hope of finding any thing dry in their baggage, exposed as it was to the storm, on the backs of porters.* One miserable being after another arrived on board the steamer, looking as if they had all walked through the sea; and it was not till great drying and changing had been resorted to, that the general ill-humour of the party subsided.

The proceedings of one of them were strange enough, and would have appeared to me much more singular, if I had not already seen another person (a Croatian) do the same before; and though I do not suppose that the habit is common, or that it is to be considered one of the *customs* of this part of Europe, it is too curious to be omitted.

A young Austrian officer, who was certainly a man of very gentlemanly manners, and who proved to be a person of rank, took up a conspicuous place in the public cabin, to make his toilette; and probably preferring warm to cold water, poured out a tumbler-full, which he took into his mouth, and after keeping it there for a short time, put it out again into his two hands, and washed his face. Nobody seemed at all surprised; but I

* See above, Vol. I. p. 271.

must say that, in the many countries I have visited, I never met with so extraordinary a performance.

After a stay of three days at Cúrzola, I crossed over to Orebich, on the opposite shore, in the peninsula of Sabioncello; a row of half an hour in a four-oared boat.

Orebich, called also Sabioncello, is the principal village, or town, in this part of the peninsula; and is ruled, as I afterwards learnt, by a Pretore, Signor Rossi, of whose existence I had not dreamt, while passing through the place. But an Austrian official is not to be passed by unheeded, and I was soon fully informed of his importance.

At Orebich are numerous gardens, and the land is carefully tilled. I observed that the olives were very productive, as they are throughout this peninsula; there are also many vines, figs, pomegranates, apples, pears, almonds, mulberries, *Caruba*, and other fruit trees. Oleanders, ilex, bay, rosemary, and junipers, abound there; and the beauty of the landscape is greatly indebted to the dark foliage, and graceful forms, of the cypresses* which grow in great numbers on the *plateaux* and sloping hills, particularly below the Church of Sta. Maria dell'Assunta, to the north of Orebich; above which towers the rugged summit of the Monte Vipero. The houses of the town are well built, and the inhabitants are wealthy; but they have the reputation of

* Both varieties, the upright and spreading. In the Illyric dialect of Slavonic the cypress is called Cempris.

being a little too fond of money, and are not so hospitable as some of their neighbours.

The road from Orebich to Trapano crosses the mountains, that form the sharp central ridge, or back-bone, of the peninsula; to the summit of which is a walk of about one hour. It passes, at first, through plantations of olives, and on the ascent of the mountain are many tamarisk bushes, lentiscus*, juniper, arbutus, heath, the small holly-leaved oak (which is so common in Greece), ash, and pines. On reaching the top of the pass, the road descends immediately on the other side, and overlooks some pretty vallies, with the blue sea beyond. We soon afterwards passed through a grove of pines, mostly small trees, the largest not exceeding five feet in girth; and continued descending, till we reached Trapano, which is three hours' journey from Orebich.

I was furnished with a letter to one of the principal merchants there, who entertained me very hospitably during my stay. I had arrived in the evening, intending to cross the Gulf next morning, to the Narenta; but I was no sooner up, than I received the strange intelligence that Signor Rossi, the Pretore of Orebich, had sent a peremptory order, for my *immediate* return to his august presence.

The message arrived at midnight; but my host having pleaded the bad state of the weather, and

* Called Skinos, like the Greek σχοινος, both which are pronounced in the same manner, *Skeenos*.

other excuses, for not rousing me at that unseasonable hour, the satellite consented to leave me undisturbed, on condition that the summons should be given me early next morning. My host, accordingly, explained to me the "disagreeable intelligence, he had to impart," the moment I had concluded the complimentary wishes of the day; and on my inquiring, whether he thought the man in sober earnest, he expressed his decided opinion there was no course left, but to obey. My opinion was different: though I consented to send my passport, which the police at Trapano allowed to be "in order," for the inspection of the great man of the small Orebich, and agreed to put off my journey, till the return of the messenger.

It was not to be supposed, that a stranger could know of the existence of the Pretore, or of its being necessary to present himself to every policeman, as he passed through a small town, not to be distinguished from a village*; and I pleaded ignorance of the wise regulation which, they assured me, required every one to do so. For such is the vexatious system, towards persons travelling in the interior, that the police are not satisfied to demand a passport, but condemn every one to sacrifice his time, as well as all other considerations, and appear, in person, at the police-office of every

* The whole commune contains only 423 houses: the town about half the number.

town, as if he were guilty of some heinous crime. If his greatest interests are at stake, he cannot proceed, until his passport is signed; and if the Pretore is in bed, or at dinner, or taking his *siesta*, or out of the way, the most urgent business must be deferred, perhaps twelve or fourteen hours; on account of these stolid, and inquisitorial, regulations.

By the kind intervention of some man of the law, who happened to be at Trapano, a letter was written, enclosing my passport to the Pretore; with strong representations of the state of the weather, the ignorance of the stranger about their passport regulations, and the good order of the passport itself; in consideration of which, Signor Rossi returned it, with permission for my departure to the Narenta, and a dignified lecture on the necessity, for the future, of presenting myself to every Pretore, "the neglect of which duty could not be excused, under any circumstances."

Trapano * consists of about 100 houses, and contains 600 inhabitants †, who pay 800 florins a year in taxes to the government, in custom dues, and tithes on land; and though so small a place, it has a more extensive commerce than any other in the Peninsula of Sabioncello. The quantity of fish caught for salting is very great, and the village purchases annually 35,000 florins worth of salt for this trade; which is carried on with Venice, and

* Or Trappano.

† The whole commune 206 houses and 1218 inhabitants.

other places in the Adriatic; and which would be greatly increased, were it not for the heavy duties on that article. Salt, indeed, has always been subject to a rigid monopoly in Dalmatia; it often led to serious disputes with other neighbouring states; and the exclusive privilege of selling it, which was first established by Louis, King of Hungary, about 1376 *, has been scrupulously maintained by the Austrians, to the present day. †

The principal fishery at Trapano is of Sardelle, which they catch in this manner. From the starboard bow, of their large open boats, a cradle of iron projects, in which they burn a quantity of wood; and as soon as the fish have collected under the light of this fire, they row the boat gently towards the shore, accompanied by the fish, which are then surrounded, and taken with nets.

The valley of Trapano produces abundance of olives, which are a source of great profit. I never saw trees so laden with fruit; and though of a large size, it is by no means of a coarse quality; and it yields an unusual quantity of oil. The greatest care is bestowed, by these people, on the cultivation of the olive; the earth is walled up with stone, wherever there is room for a single

* See the History in Chapter IX.

† See above, Vol. I. p. 234. The salt duty was only repealed in England in 1824–5, (though salt used in fisheries was free of duty before); but it still continues in India. Governments seem always to be, or to have been, tyrannical about salt and tobacco.

tree; and such is the profit obtained from them, that olives are planted in all the small hollow spaces, between the rocks; where they thrive in this congenial soil.

The Trapanines export annually 15,000 barrels of oil. They not only use the produce of their own olives, but buy up the oil of other villages; which they either pay for in money, or take in exchange for cloth, and other manufactured goods imported by them; gaining thereby on both commodities. They even buy it from Gradatz, Zistrok, and other villages, on the opposite shore of the Narentine Gulf; and so profitably do they employ their money, that it repays them to borrow it, at 5 per cent., from the people of Orebich.

The only productions, of the gardens and fields of Trapano, are olives, vines, and vegetables; they have neither wheat, nor Indian corn; and all the grain, required for making bread, is imported from Venice and Trieste. The trade is carried on in *trabaccoli*, the large coasting craft of the Adriatic.

Manufactured goods are brought from the same ports; and while I was at Trapano, some large cargoes arrived from Trieste, among which were raw hides from Brazil. The unloading of the vessels was performed by men, but all the goods were carried from the port to Trapano, a distance of one-third of a mile, by women; who so frequently perform the duties of porters in Dalmatia; and

some women are *said* to bear, on their backs, burthens, weighing 250 *funti*.*

To Trepano belong many of the pine trees we passed, in crossing the hills, about half a mile before we reached the village. An annual tax is levied on them by the government; and I was told, that any one, who plants them in a barren piece of land, is obliged to pay it, after a certain number of years. The wisdom, or the justice, of such a measure may be doubted; which is very similar to that adopted, respecting trees, in Egypt, and amounts almost to a prohibition to plant them; but another regulation, that forbids any one to fell timber, on the hills, without an order from the government, who restrict the quantity cut during the year, is a wise and prudent precaution; which, if taken in earlier times, would have prevented the indiscriminate felling of trees on the mountains, and might have saved the soil, that then covered a great portion of their now bare rocky sides.

The port of Trapano is small; but might, at a small expense, be made commodious and secure; by connecting the rocks that lie in front of it. This could only be done by the government; but as the Austrians are not in the habit of spending money, on improvements in Dalmatia, the Tra-

* A funto is nearly 14 ounces, making about 218 pounds. 100 funti being equal to 56 French chilogrammes, the funto is $\frac{14}{25}$ of a chilogramme.

panines are likely to look, for a long time, upon the unconnected rocks.

"Rusticus expectat dum defluat amnis;" and the Trapanines will have to wait, probably with a similar chance of obtaining the wished-for benefit.

The water is from four, to five, fathoms deep.

There is no village on the shore; the few buildings there being merely magazines, belonging to the people of Trapano; but, on the hill above, are the remains of an old walled town, called *Gradina**, and *Citta Vecchia*, the ruined houses of which may, here and there, be traced; and, on the side towards Trapano, is a dilapidated church, said to have belonged to it.

The costume of the Sabioncello peninsula is very singular, particularly on gala days, when the women appear in a straw hat, decked with ribands, roses, and feathers of all colours; which last are brought even from England, to complete this most important part of their dress. Another peculiarity of the costume is a blue skirt, with a double red, and yellow, border.

On the return of my passport, I left Trapano, in a four-oared boat, for the valley of the Narenta. We first coasted along the peninsula; and the weather being very stormy, we put into a small cove, below Tzerkvich; where we covered ourselves, as well as we could, from the deluge of rain, that poured down

* Properly "the little town," or "*paesetto*."

upon us. A partial cessation of the storm, at length, enabled us to venture out of our rock-girt place of refuge; and, in an hour and a half, we crossed the gulf, and entered the Narenta, by one of its smaller channels, about half a mile to the south of the principal mouth. On our left was an island clothed with brushwood, and crowned by a castle, now a ruin, that once protected the entrance.

The hills of the Narenta are rocky, and partially covered with low wood. The extent of the land in the valley is not great, and some portion of it is occupied by marshes, which cause the deadly fever, that rages there in the hot weather. Great numbers of water-fowl frequent it in November, and throughout the winter; and I saw some very large flights of crows, forcibly recalling the evening return of rooks in England.

The depth of water in the river is sufficient to admit steamers, or even larger vessels; and it has no bar. Hence, in ancient times, the Narentine pirates issued to plunder the coasts, and intercept the traders of the Adriatic; the various channels of the river afforded them a safe and convenient port; and it required long and repeated efforts, on the part of Venice, to check their depredations.

This people, a Serb-Slavonic race, had made themselves very powerful, towards the close of the ninth century; they even defeated the Venetians, in a naval battle at Puntamica, near Zara, where the Doge Pietro Candiano was killed; and levied

tribute, on all the vessels that traded in the Adriatic; till at length, in 997, they were crushed by Pietro Orseolo II.; and, after having infested that sea for three centuries, were compelled to desist from piracy, and acknowledge the authority of Venice.

The stream of the Narenta is sluggish, through the Delta, formed by its several mouths; and the expanse of flat marshy land, over which its waters spread, decreases still more the force of its current. Higher up the river, however, it is much stronger, and after heavy rains very rapid. The Narenta was called, in ancient times, Naro, and, by Porphyrogenitus, Orontium.*

Continuing for some time in the small branch, amidst low marshy land, covered with reeds, trees, and bushes, we came to a part, where a firm bank enabled the men to tow the boat, and in two hours reached Fort Opus. It was late in the evening, and the health-office was closed, so that we were forbidden to land. But by the kind interference of Signor Grossa, to whom my host at Trapano had given me a letter, we were permitted to go ashore; which shows the great advantage of being provided with letters, in travelling through Dalmatia.

From the name, it might be supposed that Fort Opus is, at least, a walled town; it is, on the contrary, completely open; and the only fortifications,

* Farlati, vol. i. p. 139. Appendini, vol. i. p. 148.

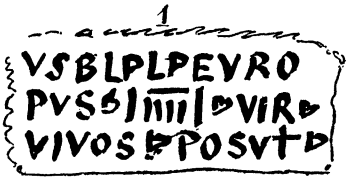
in Venetian times, consisted of guns placed on the dykes: but, near the church of San Rocco, is a hill, called *Gradina*, or *Citta Vecchia*, with the ruin of an old Venetian *fort*, about one mile from Fort Opus, which gave this name to the town. There are some vestiges of Roman buildings, called Botteghe, "the shops," but of no consequence, and now mostly removed.

Fort Opus contains 700 inhabitants; and at the extremity of the main street is a small church. It is the capital of the district, and the residence of a Pretore.

That office is now filled by Signor Vidovich, a man of energy and talent, who has greatly improved the town, and district, under his charge. At his house are some ancient fragments, brought from Vido, the ancient Narona, which are mostly sepulchral inscriptions.* He has also some large bronze letters, which once belonged to the dedication of a public building, coins, fibulæ, and other

* Of these inscriptions, No. 4. is highly ornamented with arabesque scroll patterns.

1



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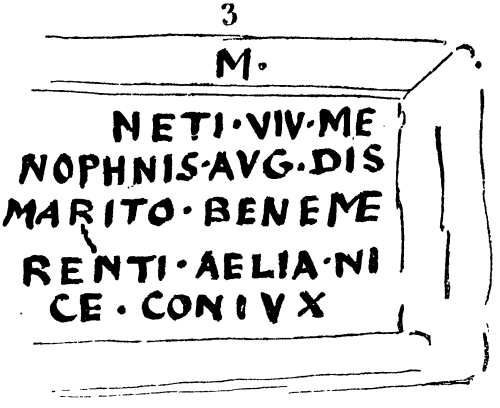
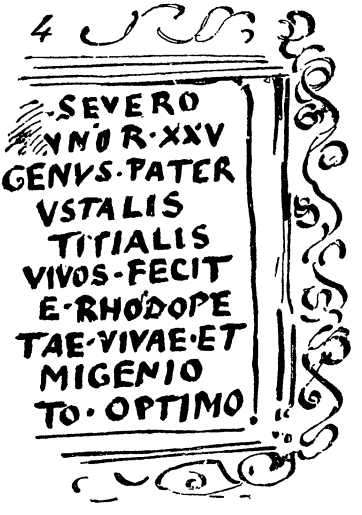
small objects. The torso of a Roman Emperor in armour, of good style, (wearing a breastplate ornamented with griffins,) some capitals of columns, and





a few sculptured remains, have been let into the walls; and on the top of the house is the statue of a female, draped, probably a vestal. It is of good Roman time, but the head is unfortunately wanting. On the roof, Signor Vidovich has constructed a spacious reservoir; which has already been found of great use, during the hot season, when the water of the river is no longer wholesome; for in July, August, and September, the Narenta being low, the sea water extends a long distance up the stream, and mixing with it, tends to increase the fevers, which are caused by the unhealthy miasma of the marshes.

The many beneficial improvements, introduced by the Pretore, are highly creditable to him. He has made roads about the town, he has drained land, and planted trees; and, by establishing nursery grounds at Fort Opus, and Metcovich, he has reared a sufficient number of mulberry, almond, and olive trees, to supply the district.

Olives and mulberries thrive rapidly there; and so well is the land suited to their growth, that I saw some only two years old, which were more than double the size of any of the same age in other places. This is also the case with cabbages, and other vegetables; which grow most luxuriantly, in this excellent soil. And such is the abundance of young plants in his nursery grounds, that Signor Vidovich lately sent 6600 mulberry trees to the Vizir of Herzegóvina, for his villa at Boona; re-

ceiving, in return, 140 oaks, for the bridge he is building, over a tributary stream of the Narenta, in the plain of Metcovich. He distributes the plants, to all the peasants who will rear them; and pays them one sequin, for the greatest number grown in the year. The government, too, gives young plants, gratis, for the same purpose. The mulberry trees are all of the white kind, and are planted for the silk-worms; the rearing of which has, till lately, been much neglected in Dalmatia.

Among other wise measures adopted by the Pretore, are the filling up of the stagnant pools about the town, and the introduction of a more general cultivation of the land; which have already had the effect of diminishing the fever, and dysentery, that prevail in the hot season. He has also made every peasant plant a vine by his house, at Fort Opus; for the double purpose of preventing their stealing each others grapes, and of adding to the beauty of the cottages. Another good system is his employing, on the public works, all persons condemned to prison; thereby rendering them more useful to society, than if in confinement; punishing them for their offences, by the degradation of an exposure; and affording an example, to deter others from similar crimes.

The people of Fort Opus have a method of preserving olives, different from that commonly practised. They gather the fruit when ripe, and put them into a tepid oven, until slightly dried; and

salt having been mixed with them, they are ready for use. But they are not prepared with salt-water, or vinegar, nor bottled, as in Italy.

At Ternovo *, a suburb of Fort Opus, about a quarter of a mile to the southward, is a Greek church; close to which is a large mulberry tree, measuring from fifteen to sixteen feet round the trunk, and about forty feet high. In this suburb are a priest, and some other members of the Greek Church; but Fort Opus itself has only one family of that persuasion.

It may appear incredible, that neither the Dalmatians, nor the Austrians, have yet made a single mill in this district, and that all the corn is actually sent from Fort Opus, and Metcovich, to Strúké, in the Turkish territory, to be ground; though there are most convenient spots, in the valley of the Narenta, for erecting windmills, and a stream strong enough for water-mills. It is sufficiently inconvenient to be dependent on the Turkish millers, who live across the frontier, many miles off, for all the flour they want; but when the plain is flooded, and the communication intercepted, or in time of plague, when a strict quarantine is established, the people of the Narenta have no means of grinding their corn, without sending it to Salona, or to Imoschi, (one distant about thirty-

* Perhaps from Tern, "a thorn"; the name given to the Rhamnus infectorius.

five, the other seventy miles), at a great loss of time and money. When there is no plague, the quarantine is avoided: individuals coming from Turkey are then alone amenable to the health-office regulations; while those who buy, or receive, flour, are, for convenience sake, exempt; which shows the hypocritical pretences, and injustice, of political quarantine laws.

The expenses on 100 okas of wheat, costing seven florins and forty carantani*, may be reckoned at one florin, for carriage and grinding; which is three times what it would be, if ground on the spot, and is rather more than thirteen per cent.

That the peasants of Dalmatia should not erect mills is natural enough, as they have not means, sufficient to bear the expense; but that the Austrians should be so blind to their own interest is truly surprising; and the fact I have already mentioned †, of the only mills erected on the most convenient of streams, the Kerka, being of Turkish time, is not very creditable to the *paternal* government.

The small boats of the Narenta are of rude construction. They have no gunwale, and have merely two shelving sides, meeting in a point at the bottom, like a trough; so that when getting in, if you do not step exactly in the middle, they upset, or, at least, every thing they contain falls out into the water. They are rowed with paddles, either by a single man,

* Fifteen shillings and four-pence English.

† See above, Vol. I., pp. 194. 199.

or by one at each end. There is also a smaller boat, or punt, intended for one person, but frequently occupied by two or three, if willing, and accustomed, to sit perfectly quiet; and generally paddled by women; which, being flat-bottomed, of very thin wood, or sometimes merely a trunk of a tree hollowed out, about thirteen feet long, and three broad, is so light, that it can be carried about, like an old British coracle.

While at Fort Opus, I wrote a letter to the Vizir of Herzegóvina, proposing a visit to his capital, and requesting permission to draw, and measure, the famous bridge of Mostar, without any interruption from the people, or the authorities of the city. And the Pretore having undertaken to forward it, with a strong recommendation, I set off for Metcovich, the last town on the frontier, to await the answer.

Ascending the Narenta, in one of the trough-like boats, with two paddlers, I passed in an hour's time the Torre di Norin *; on a point of land, where the small stream of Norino joins the Narenta.

This tower was built by the Turks; and, pierced with embrasures for cannon, it commands the river. It was taken by the Venetians, under Pietro Valier, in 1685 †; and the following year, Cornaro obliged the Turks to retire from before it, and

* According to the Venetian mode of cutting off the final vowel. Called also Narin, or Narino.

† See the History.

from Fort Opus; which, from that time, remained in the hands of the Venetians. The river's banks are overgrown with reeds, wild vines, alders, willows, and thick bushes; and, on approaching Metcovich, it winds so much, that I found it far more expeditious to leave the boat, and walk to the village, along the excellent road, made by the French, during their occupation of Dalmatia. From this point to Metcovich is about one mile; and the whole distance from Fort Opus by land is about five.

As the Sindaco, to whom I had a letter, was absent at a marriage, I was lodged at the house of his deputy, to whom I was indebted for much civility during my stay. The marriage caused great bustle and animation, in the village; and on the return of the *cortège*, the display of flags, and an incessant discharge of guns and pistols, continued for several days.

Metcovich contains about 500 inhabitants, who are mostly Morlacchi, fifty or sixty of whom are of the Greek Church. It stands on the slope of a rocky hill, overlooking the level, and extensive, plain of the Narenta; which is the most fertile part of Dalmatia, and only requires draining and cultivation, to call forth all the capabilities of its productive soil. As in all Dalmatian villages, the houses are scattered; and Metcovich covers more ground than its consequence, or the number of its inhabitants, require. It has a small inn, of the accommodation in which I can say nothing. I

dined there; and found the fare homely, and the *cuisine* very primitive.

In the afternoon, and again next day, I walked over, with the Vice-Sindaco, to Vido, the site of the ancient Narona; which is between two and three miles to the northward, at the edge of the plain. A raised road, or dyke, runs to Vido, from the Bazaar di Unka, which is on the river, at the immediate frontier; but so badly is it made, that heavy rain soon renders it almost impassable; and it took us one hour and a half to reach Vido. The canal leading to that village, overgrown with reeds, and water plants, and the quantity of land constantly flooded, make it very unhealthy; and the people have all the pallid appearance, usual in feverish districts. In this respect, Metcovich is far more fortunate than Vido, or Fort Opus; as, besides the advantage of a position on an eminence, it has much cultivated land in the immediate neighbourhood. Being also far from the sea, the river is not impregnated with salt water.

The small stream Norino, which runs below Vido, has a strong current, and the water is wholesome to drink; but it overflows its flat ill-defined banks, and contributes greatly to the stagnant pools, and the unhealthiness of the place. Its sources lie in a ravine among the hills, a short distance to the N. E. of Vido.

The village stands on the slope of a small rocky knoll, where it seems to have taken refuge from

the flood below; and no one can approach it, or look down from it, without wondering how the inhabitants can have lived through the feverish season. Numbers, indeed, are carried off, throughout the valley of the Narenta; and no stranger can venture to visit that district, during the hot months of the summer and autumn.

Vido has about 480 inhabitants, Morlacchi, who are all Roman Catholics. In the marsh below the village, to the N.W., are the walls of houses, once belonging to the ancient Narona *, which are clearly seen in summer, when the water is low; showing how much the bed of the Norino has risen, since the time of the Romans. The same is the case with the Narenta, and other streams of Dalmatia; and the rise of the level of the Kerka has subjected the ruins of Scardona to the same fate, as those of Vido.

The plain of the Narenta was probably free, in ancient times, from the feverish miasma, which now decimates its inhabitants; and which, if neglected, will continue to increase; while its rich land will gradually be converted into an unproductive marsh. This can only be prevented by drainage, and embankments. But there is little chance of the economical Austrian government expending the

* Fortis lays down an old Roman road from Vido, running northwards, about half way between Gliubuski and Vergoraz, to the west of the Trebisat, and near it some old Slavonic tombs. (Fortis, p. 307.) Fear of the Turks then, and quarantine in later times, have made a visit to them difficult.

sum required for such an object; and though it has been demonstrated, that the profits would amply repay the expense, all proposals have been rejected; and it would almost appear, from their conduct on this and other occasions, as if the Austrians expected only to hold Dalmatia for a few years; since they find an objection to the outlay of 20,000,000 florins (two millions sterling), for the drainage and embankments of this fertile plain. It was proposed to devote annually 500,000 florins to the work, in answer to the objection, that the government could not afford so large an expense at once; but this proposition was also rejected; as was another, made by a wealthy and well-known banker, who offered to undertake it at his own expense, on condition of having the profits from the land, for a certain number of years.

At Vido are several inscriptions, built into the walls of houses; but the principal curiosity is the abode of the *parocco*, or perhaps the *parocco* himself. He is certainly a character, and is known in all the neighbourhood by his eccentricities; for which he is ridiculed unmercifully. What is worse, they accuse him of destroying the ancient monuments, and of breaking up inscriptions, to take out the large bronze letters attached to the stone; of the truth of which I can say nothing; but from what I saw, I am in justice bound to give him the credit of preserving, rather than of destroying; and the walls of his tower-like house are

incrusted with inscriptions, which are thus kept in safety, and conveniently placed for examination. He has even taken the trouble of putting up facsimiles of the inscriptions sent to Zara, and every fragment of sculpture he could find has been added to this very useful collection.

While I was copying the inscriptions, the parocco made his appearance, with his reverend person enveloped in a rough hairy cloak; and begged me to enter his abode. This was partly to have an excuse for taking a dram, partly to show some engraved stones, which were of good workmanship; but as he had unwisely mounted them in gold, he had increased their price, without adding to their value.

Over the door of his house is a rich piece of moulding; and among the fragments preserved there, is the top of a small tomb, or rather sepulchral chest; similar to many that are found in Dalmatia, of Roman time. The inscriptions are mostly funereal, but some relate to the public buildings, and the deities of Narona. In the other houses of the village are several fragments of sculptured stones, among which is part of a cornice, belonging to a small building. Judging, indeed, from the size, and style, of the dedicatory inscriptions, some of the monuments appear to have been of small dimensions; which is most remarkable in those mentioning * the temple of Liber and Libera.†

* Nos. 6. and 7.

Looking down upon the marsh to the N.W., I observed several women, wading up to their knees

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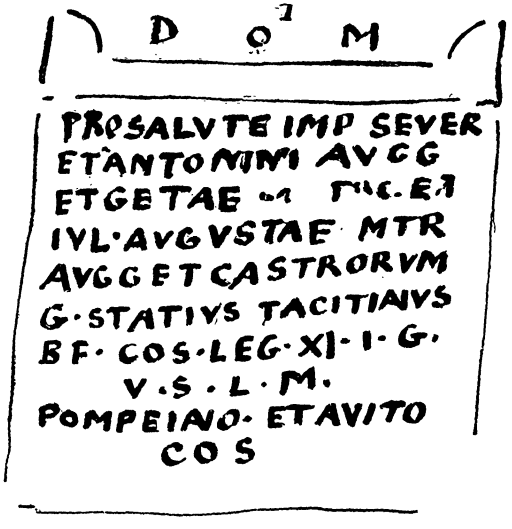

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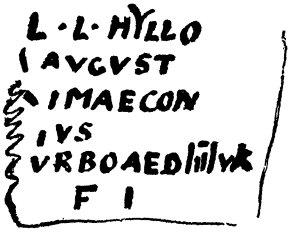

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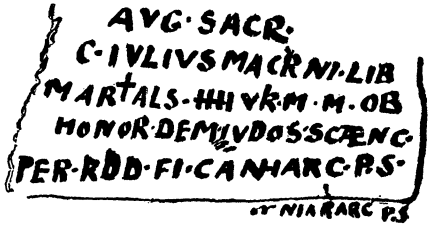

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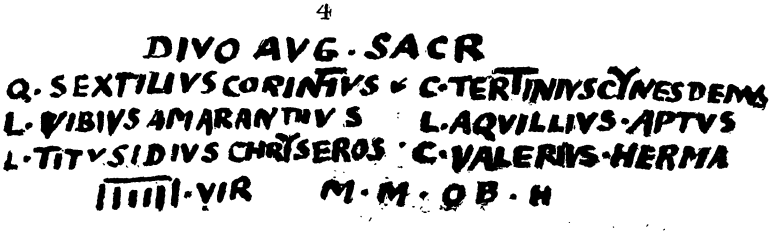
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in the water, and beating the surface with sticks; who, on inquiry, I found, were catching leeches.

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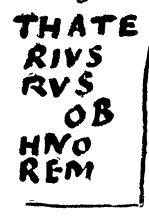

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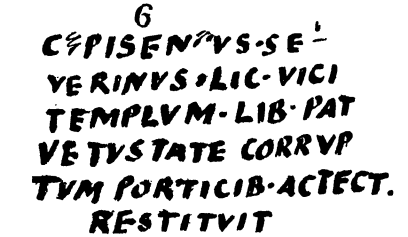

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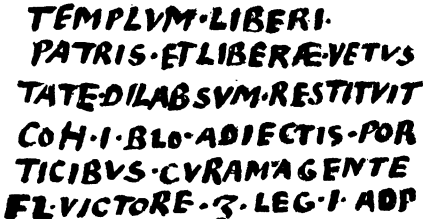

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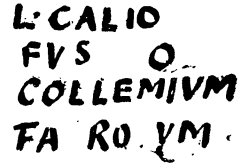

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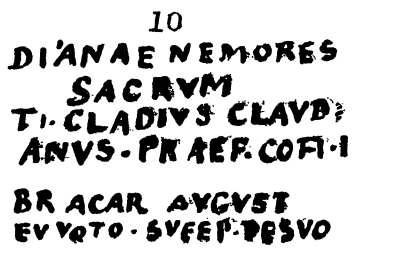

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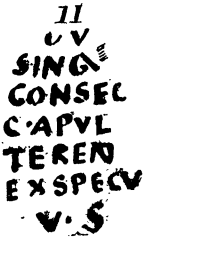

When the water is struck, they rise from the muddy bottom to the surface, and make for the

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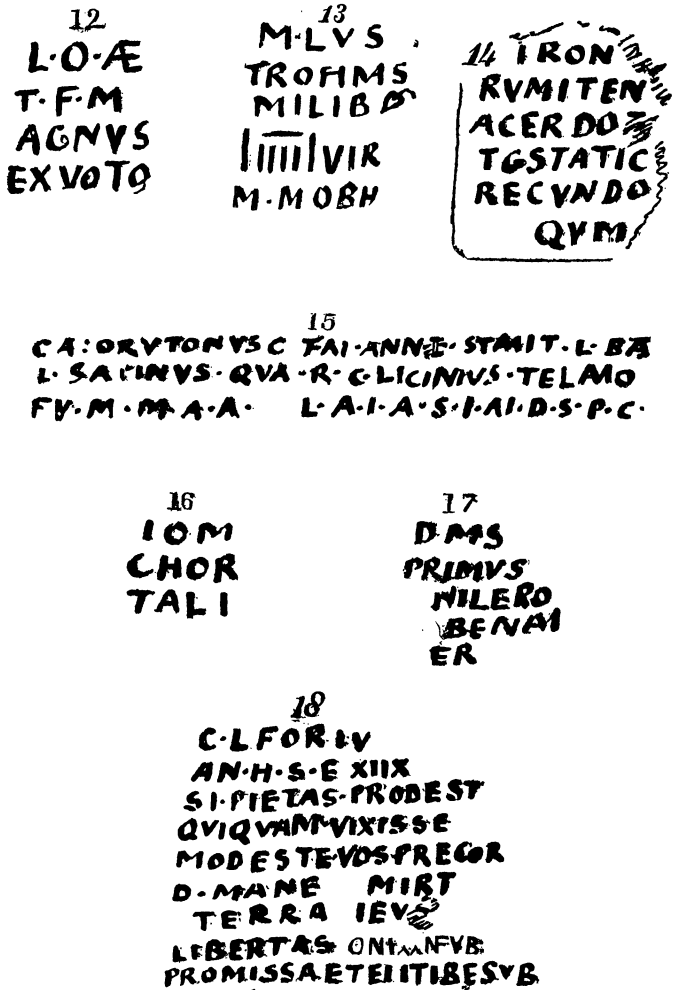
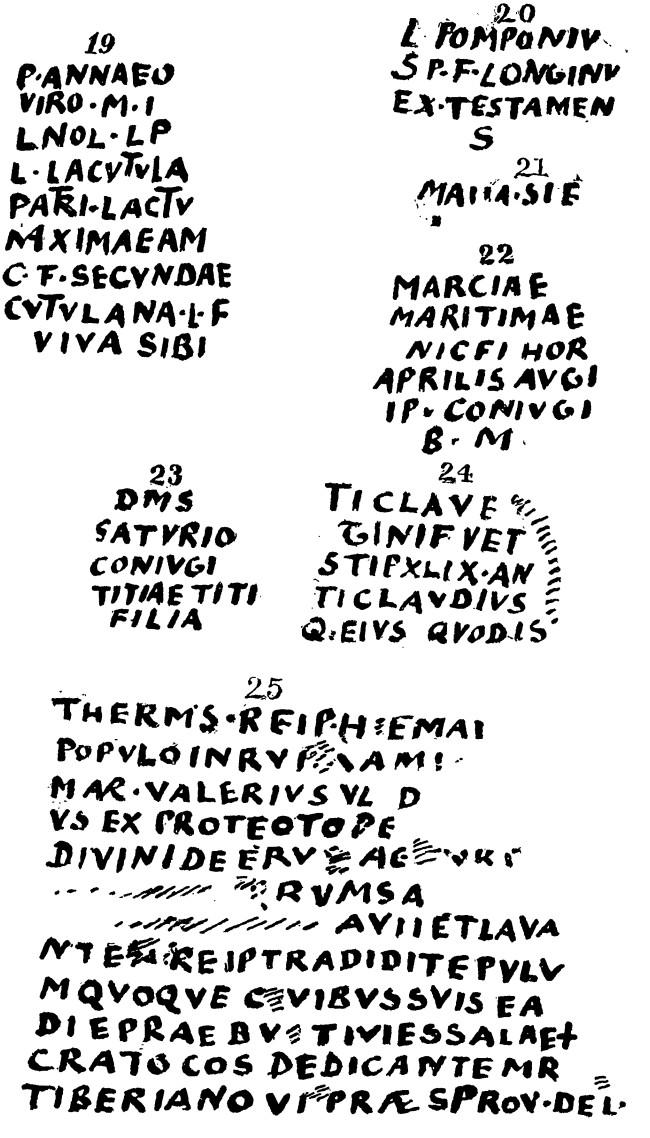


women; who catch them as they approach, and put them into a bag, held upon the left arm, which they



dip every now and then into the water, to keep the leeches alive. They are a considerable source of

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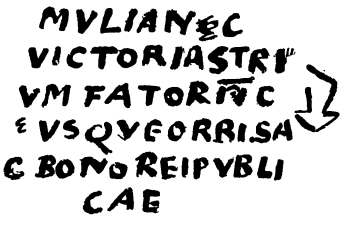

(*On fragment of a Column.*)

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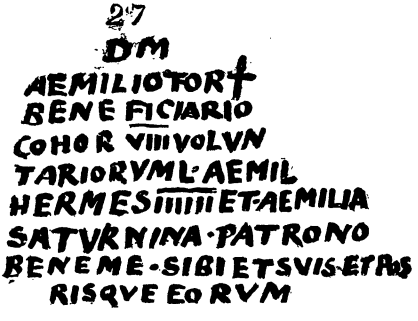

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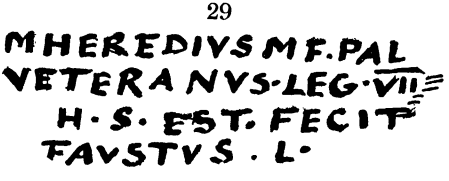

The originals of Nos. 4. and 19. were sent to Zara. The other inscriptions in the village are,

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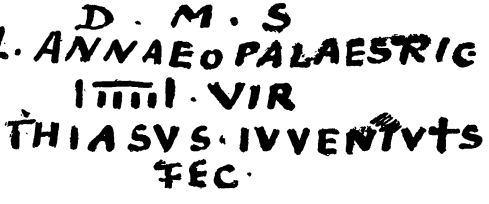

profit to these people, being sent in great numbers to various parts of the country; and I saw a large tank at Spalato, filled with moist clay, where the leeches were kept "for home consumption, and for exportation."

The marsh covers a portion, or perhaps a suburb, of the ancient Narona; but the city itself stood on the hill, now occupied by the village of Vido, and is said to have been surrounded by a wall. Besides the Temple of Liber and Libera, there were, according to the inscriptions, other sacred buildings, dedicated to Jupiter, and to Diana.

The parocco has sown some rice, which ripens at the end of September; and which succeeds so well, that it might be cultivated in this district to advantage, and compensate, in some degree, by an additional production, for the unhealthiness of the waste land. He told me that eighty okas produced two thousand, or twenty-five to one, but he had no means of threshing it.

The weather at this season was very wet; it rained seven whole days, at the end of October,

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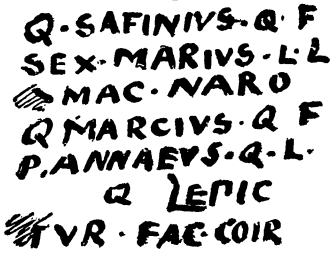

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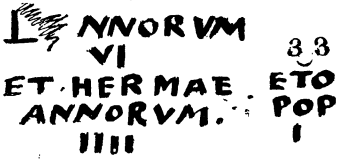

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and the beginning of November; by which time the Narenta had flooded the plain, and laid the roads on its banks under water; and I was detained at Metcovich four days, awaiting the answer from Mostar.

At length the Vizir's letter arrived, assuring me of a welcome, and giving me permission to make whatever observations I wished, at the capital of Herzegóvina. The Vizir also promised to send his Frank proto-medico, to meet me on the road.

The only difficulty now was to procure horses; which, in consequence of the quarantine regulations, I was advised to obtain from Turkey, to meet me at the frontier. A letter was therefore despatched to the Governor of Gabella, and I held myself in readiness to depart, at a moment's notice. In the hopes of receiving a reply, either in the shape of a letter, or the horses, I went to the Bazaar of Unka; but finding neither of them, and suspecting that the Turk was not disposed to facilitate my journey, I resolved on going next day, to demand an answer in person.

To beguile time, I amused myself all that afternoon, in witnessing the proceedings of the bazaar. It is held four times a week, on Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, and is attended by pantalooned Morlacchi on one side, and by ample robed men from Turkey on the other. The latter are however mostly Christians. Unka itself consists of a few houses, which are uninhabited,

except on market days; when the chief *employés* of the custom-house, and the *Sanitá*, attend at their office to levy duties, and prevent contact between the Turks and Dalmatians. Two sets of railings, with a vacant space between them, keep off the plague; and a sergeant's guard attends, to enforce obedience.

During the feverish season, some armed Morlacchi do this duty; the Austrian detachment, which consists of about thirty men, not coming to Metcovich till the 1st of November, and leaving it again on the 1st of June. At night, the guard returns to the village; and three Morlacchi * alone remain, to prevent the tables and other woodwork being stolen, by people short of fuel and honesty.

The principal article of trade is salt, sold in great quantity to the Turks, who sometimes take 500, and even 800, horse-loads. It is poured down long wooden troughs; which, moving on a pivot, discharge it across the two barriers, into the Turkish sacks †, on the other side. Susceptible goods from Turkey are put into quarantine; and persons who are suspected of being *poor*, or are *known* to have come from Herzegóvina, are confined in the Lazaretto on the opposite shore; which consists of a few huts, thoroughly ventilated, and fully capable of de-

* Formerly fifteen were always on guard there.

† The Turkish custom-house officers take one Zwanziger (eight-pence) duty, on each sack.

stroying any plague symptoms, by killing the patient with cold.

I had no opportunity of visiting the ruins, said to be about two or three hours distant from Metcovich, on the road to Ragusa. They are in a small lake, called Lago di Kouti (Couti), and in summer are plainly seen below the surface; showing, like those at Vido, the increased level of the water, since the time of the Romans.

Next morning came, and still no answer from Gabella. I therefore left Metcovich, by the southern bank of the river, intending to cross over when opposite the town; horses having been lent me at the village, on condition that I would avoid all contact with the Turks, and send them back, on reaching the ferry of Gabella.

On the way, we passed through the small hamlet of Dogliane *, under the hills, near which are some large tombstones; probably of the same early Christian time, as those I afterwards met with, in other parts of Dalmatia, and in Herzegóvina. On one of these were sculptured a sword, and a shield with a crescent at one corner; and the border was ornamented with a scroll pattern, and the rope moulding usually found on these monuments. It was four feet high, six long, and two broad. The crescent is curious, and is frequently found on these old tombs; but few have so near an approach to armorial bear-

* From Dogl, "low," applied to it from its position.

ings as this; and what is still more singular, very few have the cross, or any other Christian symbol.*

We wound round the hills; and in an hour and a half, after leaving Metcovich, came to the Turkish hamlet of Dracevo; where *Aboo Sharwal*† was settling the affairs of his farm, and, with all the dignity of an Osmanli, commanding the admiration of his attendants, and the dread of the peasantry. Our appearance excited his curiosity; and he beckoned us to come, and give an account of ourselves, and our proceedings; which, to his infinite surprise and disgust, we showed no inclination to do; for as I had promised to send back the horses without the plague, and avoid all communication with the Turks, I thought it unnecessary to gratify the wishes of this august personage; and as he was some way off, we neglected all the signs of authority made by him, to arrest our progress.

We soon afterwards turned the corner of the hills, and reached a point of land, occupied by a ruined tower; which, with the town of Gabella on the opposite shore, once commanded the passage of the river. Here we expected to find a ferry-boat; but the river was so rapid and swollen, that it had ceased to ply in this part, and no where was any one to be seen.

Taking care to detain the horses, and ensure a

* See the road from Imoschi, Chap. VIII., woodcut, fig. 1.

† "The father of wide trowsers," as the Turks are called in the East.

retreat if necessary, I sent in every direction, to look for the absent boat; and if screaming and shouting could have availed, we should have had an abundance. All were for returning to Metcovich; but this was not my view of the case; and at length espying a small bark, at some distance, laden with sheaves of Indian corn, I despatched a messenger to persuade the boatman, by the promise of a better job, and good pay, to unload his cargo, and ferry us across to Gabella. He was not long in making up his mind, and down the stream he came, to the foot of the tower; the landing-place of those by-gone heroes, who once garrisoned it, and plundered the peasants they were supposed to protect.

I now began to think myself on my way to Mostar; and sitting down patiently in the water, or in the boat, which was much the same, we paddled over the fields, to avoid the sweeping current, which would in all probability have taken us back to Metcovich; till we came to another round tower, on the bank opposite the east side of Gabella, where we were stopped by a Turk, in a small skiff, who was in all the anger becoming an Osmanli. He abused the boatman, for no very intelligible reason; and if I had never seen a Turk before, I should have supposed that nothing could have quenched his ire, short of the death of the offender, or his own fall overboard into the water; but his tongue proving a rapid conductor of rage, he was soon pacified, and

it all ended in our changing boats; the Turk, who turned out to be the proprietor, and head Charon in these parts, taking to himself the right, and duty, of putting us across the stream. It was fortunate he did, as it required great skill; for his surprising dexterity in stemming the current, which at this part boiled up against the bank, only just enabled us to reach the opposite side. On stepping ashore, I asked him what I had to pay. His reply was simple, and quite Oriental: "Those who have received riches from God give to those who have not;" and he took his pay with many thanks, and wishes for my prosperous journey.

The next step was to obtain the horses I had written for; I therefore repaired to the house of the governor, Ahmet Agha Hýder Betcovich; who, being related to the Vizir by marriage, is a great man. I was accompanied by a young Narentine employé of the Austrian government; who on this occasion, as throughout the journey, was of great service to me, from his knowledge of the language, and customs, of the people.

I had no reason to be in a very good humour with Ahmet Agha; but it was prudent not to be offended, as my journey depended on his will: I therefore readily accepted his lame excuses, for not sending the horses to Unka, and received all his polite professions, as if persuaded of their sincerity. In his manners he was courteous and gentlemanly, as Orientals naturally are; and affected to regret

the impossibility of my reaching Mostar. Knowing that a Turk makes difficulties, either with a view to his own profit, or for fear of his superior's displeasure, I no longer showed any anxiety to go: at the same time I resolved not to be defeated in my object, after all the trouble I had taken; and on his repeating that the road was now under water, and all communications were stopped, I observed that "it was unfortunate," and turned the conversation to other subjects.

Discussing Stamboul, Mohammed Ali, and the East, and introducing that key to friendly intercourse with an Oriental, his own language, I found the perversity of the Osmanli began gradually to subside; and I once more returned to the Mostar journey. "I regretted very much, that any thing should prevent my going; and particularly as I had written to the Vizir, who had in reply promised to send to meet me, and who would therefore think it very strange, and even have cause to be offended at my not arriving. I shall write again," I added, "to explain the reason you have given, about the stoppage of the roads; the letter will doubtless find its way over the mountains;—by which route I might also reach Mostar; but I beg you to remember that you, not I, are responsible for my apparent rudeness." This had the desired effect; he pretended to consult his attendants, on the possibility of going by the mountain road, which he had probably taken twenty

times himself; prompted the answer to the question he asked; and concluded by granting permission for my departure.

This, however, was not done, without one more attempt at an impediment. He proposed that the Gabella horses should only go part of the way, and that others should be hired, after we had passed the bad portion of the road. There we should have been left, to find our way back, or forward, as best we could; and if we gave up the journey, it would not then be *his* fault. But one of the soldiers having observed, that the same horses could easily go the whole way, the difficulty was removed; and I only hope the indiscreet man never suffered for his interference. It ended in his being appointed to accompany us; and as he knew the road, and the people of the villages on the way, he was charged to do the duty of guard, guide, and interpreter, and to find lodgings for us, wherever we might stop. He turned out to be an Austrian subject, who had been engaged in an "unfortunate affair," and had crossed the border, leaving his his country and his religion on the other side, and adopting those of Turkey in their stead.

On quitting the governor and his house, all impediments seemed to be at an end, and I hoped immediately to put "the foot of expectation into the stirrup of accomplishment;" but though there were horses, there were no saddles. It was not the first time I had had to make one, and I proceeded

to call in the aid of a coarse rug, when a large man in a little shop, who professed to sell every thing, from a saucepan to a sabre, produced a new Turkish saddle, with coal-scuttle stirrups, which he at length agreed to let for the journey.

During this interesting bargain, a certain well-known, and wealthy, merchant of Gabella, Hagi Ibrahim Drácé, came up, and seeing that we were strangers, very courteously sent to his house for pipes and coffee, and invited us to sup with him. I began to think there was a Turkish *Kismet* against my journey; politeness and incivility, an excess of bad weather, and want of the means of conveyance, all seemed to conspire against it. However, I declined his hospitable offer, in the best way I could without offending him; the probability of other impediments, springing up before the next morning, making me very anxious to quit Gabella; and I fortunately hit upon a subject of conversation, his pilgrimage to Mecca, which made him forget any apparent rudeness in the refusal.

The town of Gabella stands on a projecting point above the Narenta, partly on a low hill, partly in a valley, and was once defended by two fortresses. The castle on the adjoining height was called Citluk*, and was looked upon as an important post, during the wars of the Turks and Venetians. In

* The other Citluk (or Chitluk), which occupies the site of Æquum, is near Sign. See Vol. I. p. 233.

1694 it was taken by Cornaro, and the possession of it was confirmed by the treaty of Carlovitz to the Venetians, who probably substituted the bastions of the south-east castle, for the original round towers of the Turkish walls. But the campaign of 1716 having obliged the Venetians to concentrate their forces, the garrison of Citluk was withdrawn, the works were blown up, and Gabella soon afterwards returned to the dominion of the Turks.

The winding river washes three sides of this strong position, so that the navigation was, in old times, completely commanded by the two fortresses; but, owing to a long peace and the friendly dispositions of Austria, they are no longer required, their walls are in ruins, and Gabella has ceased to be a garrisoned place. The costume of the women is nearly the same as in Montenegro, with the addition of large Turkish drawers, and the men wear a Turkish dress.

On leaving Gabella, we ascended the hills to the north, the road being entirely under water. Here are some tumuli, similar to those I afterwards met with in going to Imoschi; and, as we wound along the mountain track, we had an extensive view over the valley to the east, and the plain of Vido to the west. From the village of Chaplina, about three miles above Gabella, to the plain of Mostar, the Narenta is confined between two ranges of hills; but the valley immediately above Gabella is of considerable breadth; opening to the south-east upon

the extensive plain, and marsh, of Ulovo, which abounds in fine oaks. The hills once more approach the river at Gabella, below which it enters, and flows through, the level plain of Metcovich and Vido.

After a circuitous course of nearly two hours, we descended to Strúké, which is only about one mile and a half from Gabella; and near it the Trebisat falls into the Narenta. This rapid stream turns several mills, which are a great source of profit to the inhabitants, and indispensable for their Dalmatian neighbours, in all matters connected with the oven, and their supply of bread. The river is said to be the same that flows through the plain of Imoschi, which is there called Verlicca, and which, disappearing under ground in a cavity, is thought to pass beneath the mountains, and rise again, with the new name of Trebisat, from a lake at the bazaar of Maovaz, near Vergoraz*; whence, passing through the valley of Gliubuski, it runs into the Narenta at Strúké.†

Great quantities of tobacco are grown about this village; which may be said to take the place of the vines of Christian countries. Its cultivation is forbidden in Dalmatia, though much might be raised there of excellent quality; and as that province is placed, by the custom house regulations of

* Pronounced Maovatz, and Vergoratz.

† Strúché, or Stroógé.

the Austrians, on the footing of a foreign country, the Dalmatians have reason to complain of being prevented from enjoying the benefits of a very profitable produce, and of being forced to buy an inferior kind, merely because it is a government monopoly.

On the hills above Strúké is the village of Góritza; and a short way to the northward is a ruined castle on a rock, twenty years ago the abode of two brothers, noted Turkish chiefs, named Gávran; who levied contributions on every one that passed by land or water, and committed all kinds of excesses upon the peaceable inhabitants of the neighbourhood. No peasant could work in the fields within shot, without the risk of being picked off by these tyrants, whose cruelties were only stopped by their death. The appearance of the castle in ruins is therefore equally pleasing to the native peasant, and to the traveller as he passes by.

At Chaplina, between the Khan and the river, are several tombs of early Christian time, on one of which is a cross. They are shaped like sarcophagi, or stone coffins; and the lids have sloping sides, like the roof of a house, with an ornament representing tiles, not very unlike the Norman scollop.

Though the journey from Metcovich to Mostar may be performed in ten hours, when the road is open, we had lost so much time, by various impediments, that we only reached Drétegl in the

evening; having taken four hours and a half in reaching it from Gabella, though the distance in a line is only about four miles.

It was already dark, when we arrived; and we had great difficulty in finding a lodging. The chief of the village was absent; and the women, being left alone, would not receive us, in spite of all the threats and prayers of my guide. My interference having relieved them from his importunities, we proceeded on our search; when, after wandering from house to house, and stumbling over huge stones into large pools of liquid mud, we were hailed by a Turk, who, from an upper window of his house, perceiving our embarrassment, engaged to lodge us for the night. To my surprise, it was not his own, but another man's house, that he offered; and, accordingly, we proceeded, under his auspices, to a room full of people, who were ordered to receive us. At the same time he signified his intentions of providing our supper, and, as a prelude, sent us coffee.

Soon after this, a turkey arrived; but our friend's measures for converting it into supper did not extend beyond killing it; and much time was lost before it was deposited in a boiler we procured from some other neighbour, and suspended over the fire by a chain, as is the custom in these houses. Roasting was out of the question, in the dense smoke of damp wood; which, after having a most lachrymose effect on us all, rushed out of the

door, as if the whole house was on fire. Whether the neighbours really thought so or not, I cannot say; but we soon had a large concourse of visiters, each armed with his pipe, in true Turkish fashion.

By dint of much blowing, and some dry shavings, the fire burnt up, and the architecture of the room became visible. It consisted of two parts. One contained lumber of various kinds, the other, on a higher level, portioned off by a light rail, was set apart as the dormitory and parlour; and here a raised divan, in one corner, was appropriated to my use.

Besides the master of the house, and his friends,

was a gipsy, who was soon called upon to display his skill on the *gûsla*, and enliven the company with

a song; while the others smoked their pipes, — an occupation, which takes the place of Turkish conversation, and prevents all interruption to a sensitive musician. If I had never heard it before, the novelty might have been a sufficient recommendation; but the enthusiasm of the Montenegrin bard was wanting, on this occasion. A Turkish soldier, at intervals, gave a specimen of his musical talents, on the *tamboora*, or Albanian guitar, which is played with a quill, or plectrum.

In vain was half the night occupied, in attempts to cook the turkey: it remained obdurate; and, when taken out of the boiler, was so completely impervious to the strongest teeth, that I was glad to leave it to the undisputed possession of the company. Fortunately they all retired to rest, directly after supper, and I was left the sole occupant of the house; the rest quartering themselves on our various visiters.

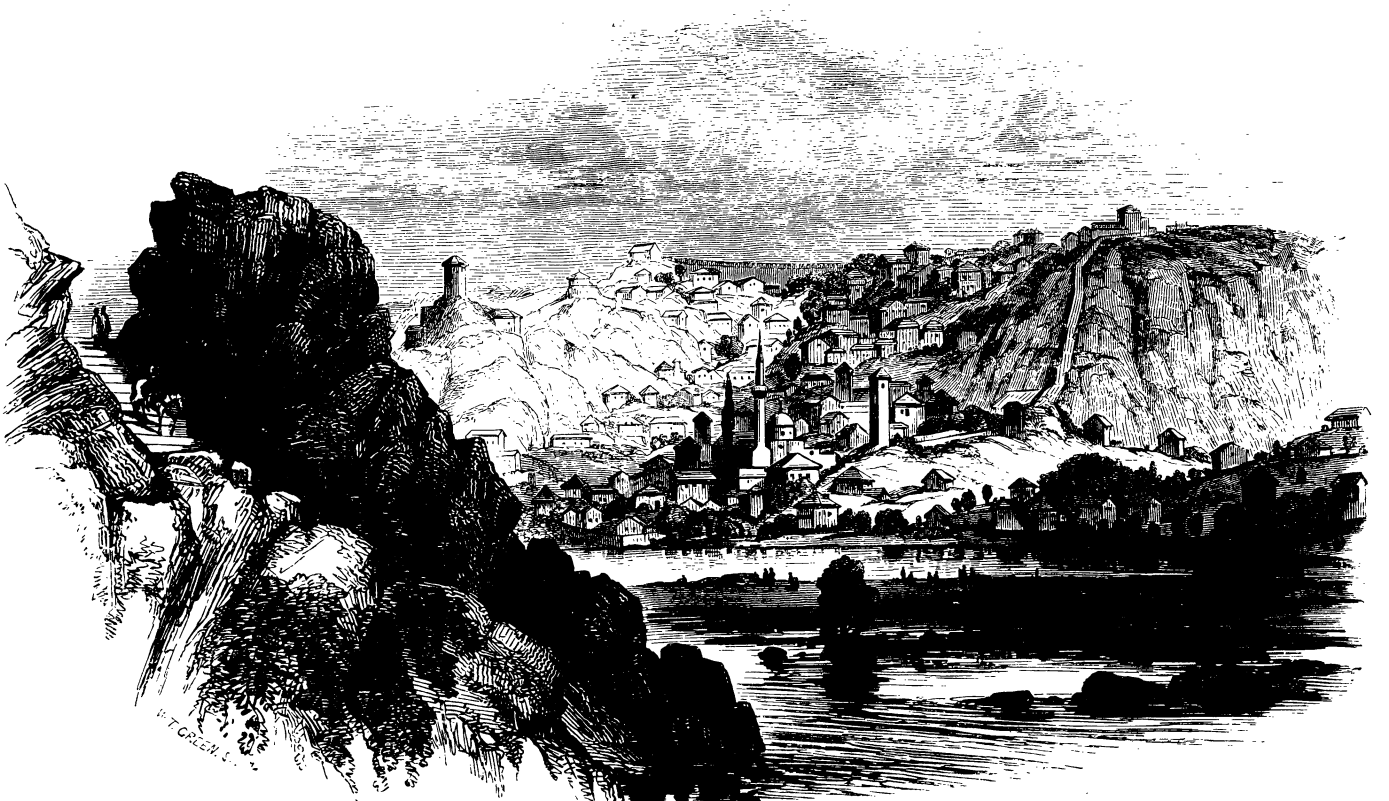
In the morning, the gipsy made his appearance, with his son, and supposing I must be a doctor, requested me to cure the child, of an illness he had suffered from for years. Very little medicine, and medicinal knowledge, go a great way in these countries; and I was fortunate, while taking care to give nothing that could do harm, to hit upon something that actually did good; which both father and son came to proclaim to me, with thanks, as I passed by, on my return from Mostar. There are several gipsies in Herzegóvina; those in

the neighbourhood of Dretegl are only birds of passage; but at Mostar they amount to about 300. They are more numerous in some parts of Dalmatia, particularly about Verlicca and Sign.

On leaving Dretegl, the road crosses a projecting corner of the hills; from which is a good view of the town of Pógitel *, on the opposite bank, in a picturesque and singular position. It has been a fortified place from very early times, and the post of governor is always held by some distinguished person. It stands in a semicircular recess, like an immense shell, in the side of the hill; and at the two projecting extremities, the walls run down from the summit to the river; the upper part being enclosed by a semicircular wall, terminated at each end by a tower.

The houses are perched at different stages within the rocky ascent, from the water's edge upwards; and near the centre of the lower part is a mosk, with a dome and elegant minaret, and a dark cypress before it; objects which contribute so much to the beauty of Turkish towns. Pógitel has also a clock tower, a building met with at Mostar, and other towns of Herzegóvina; for which the Turks are probably indebted to their Christian predecessors; and, what is more singular, the clock strikes the hours, despite the Moslem prejudice, that "bells drive away good spirits from the abodes of men."

* Pógitegl, or Pozsitegl, sometimes written Pocitel, and Pojitel.



POGITEL.

discovered. There is a tiresome kind of bramble, that grows here, and is found in Dalmatia, Italy, and Sicily, with double thorns set in opposite directions, which pertinaciously lays hold of whatever it reaches. It has a particular attachment to cloth, which it never relinquishes without tearing away a piece; and harder substances are often handled very roughly. With great difficulty we extricated ourselves from this labyrinth of thorns, and emerged into the road all rags and tatters, and, what was worse, the macintosh covers * of my baggage were full of holes.

We soon afterwards passed some small houses, belonging to Krusevich; part of which lies in the valley below, by the river side. Near them were numerous large tumuli of rough stones, some of great size; and as we proceeded on this mountain road, I observed many more on the distant hills and valleys. The people know nothing about them, and satisfy themselves with the belief, that the stones were accidentally thrown in these large heaps, by persons who happened to pass by; a supposition which would entail on their predecessors a larger amount of travelling, than could be expected from the most itinerant of mankind. I believe them to be of a date anterior even to the

* I mention these, with a view of recommending them to all who wish to be independent of rain; and a sheet or two of the same, to lay *on* damp ground, and stretch *above* a bed in a tent, are very convenient.

sculptured tombstones before mentioned, and to have been the usual sepulchres of the country at that period; being found all over Herzegóvina, and in many parts of Dalmatia. And this opinion of their antiquity is confirmed, by finding a stone tomb at Cisla placed upon one of them. They are in different sites; some on the points of hills, some in level plains, and others in hollows; and many are of considerable size.

Near Krusevich are some oaks, and ash, much juniper, and our enemies the brambles in great profusion. The oaks are not large, but those of Ulovo, opposite Gabella, grow to a much greater size. The rocks, as throughout Herzegóvina, are limestone. I must however observe that the Narenta passes over, in one part of its course, or receives a tributary stream which comes from, primitive rocks; as I found rolled stones of red, and grey granite in its bed, at Mostar, Cháplina, and other places.

After a march of four hours from Dretegl, we halted at Bielotich.* The view from this point is extensive; and in the distance are seen the peak of Biocovo, above Macarska, and other Dalmatian mountains.

We soon afterwards joined the high road from

* The word Bielo, "white," often occurs in Slavonic names. Bielotich probably means a "white chicken." Bielopoglie is the "white field," from Pólé, a "field," and Bielograd (or Belgrade) is the "white city."

Gliubuski, and were overtaken by a large caravan of Turkish merchants, with their Hareem and their goods, on horses. I entered into conversation with one of them, who proved to be a Hadji; and who, having been a long time at Cairo, spoke Arabic very fluently. But any attempt at uninterrupted conversation was utterly hopeless, hemmed in as we were by a crowd of horses, and threatened every moment by the corner of a box, a bale of goods, or a *tahtarawan* full of women; therefore, allowing the *impedimenta** to pass on, we slackened our pace, to talk over the extensive travels of the pilgrim, and the usual subjects of Oriental gossip.

After giving a detailed account of his journies, and expressing his opinion of Cairo, and those bugbears to Turkish Hadjis the Arabs, "now, Master Workman,"† he said, "you have seen Musr‡ and Stamboul, and I dare say you have made a good thing of it; what is your art?" (for the Turks always think a European must be an artizan, or a dealer in something,) and when, not thinking it worth while to try, and persuade him, I had wandered over the face of the earth, for no such intelligible reason, I answered, "I have been in quest of medicinal plants, and (be it far from you) if you will

* An excellent Roman name for "baggage."

† In some places they call a European Málem "master-workman;" in Egypt "Hawágéé," "dealer in goods," or "*marchand.*"

‡ The name of Cairo, and of Egypt also.

throw yourself off your horse, I will show you how skilfully I will set your arm, or any other bone you like to break." Seeing this was in joke, "God give you strength," he said; "may a calamity be far from me; so you are a *hakím*." "No, I only say so, because it is impossible to convince an Osmanli, that we Europeans travel merely to see other people, and other countries; though I have no doubt that you, who have visited many, can understand the pleasure, and the advantage of it: you seem to speak of what you have seen, with the same kind of satisfaction as we should, and you know that many Moslems of old times took delight in travelling, and in inquiring into the very subjects that the Franks now do; which were interesting to them, at a time, when Frangistan was in a state of barbarism."

At this moment a large stout man rode past us, with an air of consequence, and self-satisfaction; when the Hadji inquired if he was one of my party; and on hearing he was not, "Peace be on us," he exclaimed, "what a fat man! and with his arms a-kimbo*, he seems to have twenty-four carats† of contentment; well do they say 'the old ones are fat‡,' he is larger than my servant;—'think of the dog with a bone in your hand§,'—here he is;" for

* This expression is very like the Arabic *alagembo,* meaning "at his side."

† "Four and twenty," means "perfection."

‡ "E' dehn fil ātàik."

§ Answering to our "talk of the devil."

the individual in question had just come, to make some inquiry of his master; which being settled, the conversation once more turned upon his travels, and the comparative merits of Cairo and Constantinople. "It is true," he observed, "that the Cairenes call their city 'the mother of the world,' and it is a large place, its bazaars are fine, and its mosks are very numerous; but we, who are not Egyptians, and who have seen Stamboul, must agree that Musr is not to be compared to the Turkish capital; and then, the Bosphorus, the country about it, and, above all, the people, the Osmanlis; O Mālem! it is imperial, the abode of the Sultan, and the seat of the dominion of the whole world."

This led to a discussion, on the respective merits of European discipline, and the old Turkish system; and I should have been surprised to find a man so tenacious of the obsolete notion of Osmanli power, had I not met with others, even in Egypt, of the same opinion; for he concluded by declaring, that the Turks were the conquerors of mankind, that all the kings of Frangistan received their appointment to their various thrones from the Sultan, that the English sovereigns were perhaps the most faithful *servants* the Grand Signors ever had, and that nothing was done without the permission of the *Shereef*.* The French were allowed to take Algeria, and hold it *for* the Turks, because the Bey had been rebel-

* The title of the Sultan; whence *Hot e' Shereef*, "the Sultan's hand-writing," or imperial document.

lious to the Sublime Porte; and the victories of Mohammed Ali over the Vizir's troops were treated as a mere fable. "The Osmanlis!" he exclaimed, "there is no other nation under the protection of Allah, and if the European powers were to dare to rebel against them, and all their forces were collected together, they would not be able to stand up, or face the Turks, for one moment."

Following the good Moslem precept, derived from the Koran, "Dispute not with the ignorant," I left him in the full enjoyment of his delusion: "This is," thought I, "a worthy representative of the Bosnians of Sultan Selim;" and his gaunt figure putting me in mind of one of their descendants I had met at Asouan, I availed myself of the opportunity to turn the conversation, by observing, that I had seen the posterity of the Bosnian soldiers of the Sultan, in the Valley of the Nile, left by him to defend the Egyptian frontier, and the capital of Nubia. The novelty of this piece of history, at first, seemed to stagger his belief; but finding I was in earnest, he manifested great symptoms of delight, at the renown of his countrymen, whose glorious deeds were known even to a Frank, and observed that the "Bosnaks" had always been a valorous people; "and though," he added, "Herzegóvina is now under a separate Vizir, we are all of the same '*gens;*' and my family were originally from the Bosnian capital." Being now fully satisfied with having proclaimed the importance of his

race, he proceeded to show how he had profited by his sojourn at Cairo, by indulging in some Arab songs, varied occasionally by a return to our previous conversation; until, finding that he wished to overtake his caravan, I left him to continue his route with his goods, and rejoined my companion.

About an hour after leaving Bielotich, we arrived at the brow of the table land, and descended to the plain of Mostar, which is about six miles long, and two and a half in breadth. The Narenta runs nearly through the centre of it, coming from Mostar on the left, where the mountains, approaching each other, seem to leave little more than room enough for its passage; and, on the right, it enters the narrow glen below Boona, on its way to Pógitel and Chaplina.

Above the hills, at the opposite side of the plain, the lofty range of Mount Velleg* stretches its level unbroken length; and on the hills below it, nearly in front of the descent, are the town and castle of Blagai; which, now in ruins, were once remarkable in the history of Herzegóvina; but Mostar itself is concealed behind the projecting point of hills, that terminate the plain on the north.

Immediately below runs the small river Yasenitza, a tributary of the Narenta; which, with other streams and springs, might be used to advantage for irrigating the plain, and increasing the natural productiveness of its excellent soil.

* Vellezs, or Vellex, pronounced as Vellege in French.

But it is almost all uncultivated; and no one can look on this fertile spot, without regretting the indolence of the Turk. What is worse, his tyrannical conduct prevents his Christian *ráyahs* cultivating it; for no sooner would they bring it into a good state, than some pretext would be made for dispossessing them of it; and few have sufficient wealth, to undertake agricultural speculations. Here, too, the wants both of Christians and Turks are few, and easily satisfied; and no one cares to call forth the resources of his country, or introduce improvements, which might subject him to oppression.

I could not, however, agree with my companion, in his regrets, that so fine a plain should not belong to Christian Austria; and he was obliged to confess, that agricultural improvement was quite as much neglected, in the lower part of the Narenta; and that far more was done in Herzegóvina, to dam up the rivers, and profit by their streams, than in Dalmatia.

On reaching the northern extremity of the plain, we found a Turk had taken possession of a piece of land, and was superintending the labours of the peasants. Though there were miles of the same quality of soil, to satisfy his agricultural taste, he had fixed upon the very spot, traversed by all the roads to the capital; which he had stopped by fences, and was ploughing up, as if for the mere satisfaction of showing his power over the passers-by, the majority of whom were Christians. The plough was large, with wheels, drawn by a team of six

oxen, and similar to that used in Dalmatia, about Imoschi.

At the corner of the hills we passed some Christian tombstones, large slabs laid on the ground, having the cross, and a zigzag moulding; and, on rounding this point, we perceived the city of Mostar, with its fine bridge spanning the Narenta, and its numerous graceful minarets.

For external beauty, Turkish towns are far superior to those of Europe; the minarets, and domes, the cypresses, and gardens interspersed with the houses, the projecting roofs, the wooden lattice-work, the coloured walls, and the variety of outlines, are most pictorial; and it is certain that no European city, built on the Golden Horn, would, for one instant, bear a comparison with Constantinople.

The houses of the rich Osmanlis frequently look, as if they had been brought from a distance, ready made, and placed in juxtaposition with their strange neighbours; they might, with equal propriety, belong to a village, or the capital of a province; and they are often as distinct from each other as tents, from which they have evidently derived their form. No one can look at the Sibeels, Kiosks, and various buildings at Constantinople, or other Turkish towns, without being convinced of this; and the house of the Selikdar at Mostar is so like a tent, that the same outlines in a drawing might serve to represent the one, or the other. During the long period the Turks have existed as a nation,

they have never gone beyond one point, in house architecture, and the mosks at Constantinople (with the exception of their minarets) are mere imitations of Christian churches.

On the opposite side of the river is a tomb, built by the Vizir, to the memory of his favourite Circassian; from which a succession of gardens and houses continues to the town, a distance of half a mile.

Mostar is not a fortified city; and though, here and there, the remains of an insignificant wall may be traced, it appears never to have had any formidable defences; and, from its exposed position, one is not surprised that the Venetian troops, stationed on the Narenta in 1717, should have been enabled, by a sudden incursion, to burn the suburbs of Mostar.* The river is its chief protection, on the side of Dalmatia, and the passage of the bridge might be easily defended; but the round tower, at the palace gates, with embrasures for cannon, is intended against a popular tumult, rather than for the defence of the town.

Mostar has a population of 7300 souls, of whom 2000 are Turks, 3560 Greeks, and 1440 Roman Catholics. There are also 300 Gipsies, or Zińgani, and three Jews.

It stands on both sides of the Narenta, the principal part being on the east bank, extending up a declivity, under a bluff point of the hills. On this side, are the bazaars, the palace, and the largest mosks.

* See the History, A.D. 1717.

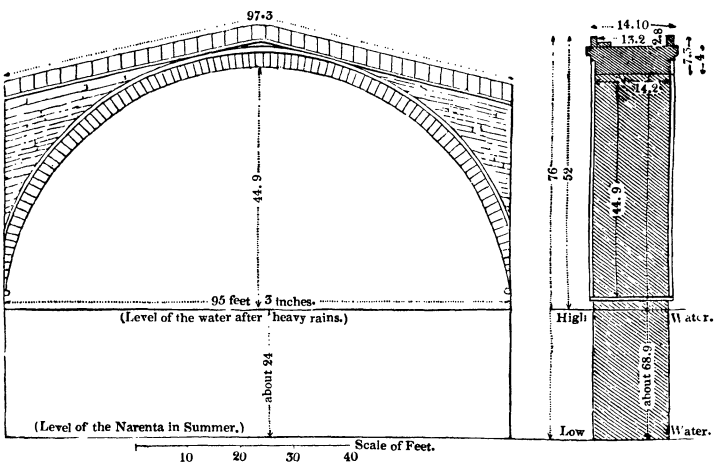
The banks of the river are high and rocky, and are connected by a beautiful bridge, for which

Mostar has always been celebrated. It is of a single arch, ninety-five feet three inches in span *; and when the Narenta is low, about seventy feet from the water, or, to the top of the parapet, seventy-six feet. The river, at the season I visited it, being unusually high, it was only 44·9 from the water's surface; but even then, the beauty of its arch, and the lightness of its proportions, were not diminished, and I have seen none that can surpass it. The depth of the water was said to be about thirty-four feet, and in summer not more than ten.

* See the section and elevation.

The breadth of the arch is only 14·2, the road over it 13·2, and, with the two parapets, 14·10. On its north side is a raised conduit of stone, looking like a foot-way, which conveys water over the bridge to the eastern part of the city, and is supplied from a source, in the undulating valley to the west.

The bridge rises about ten feet in the centre; but this does not appear to have been so originally; and though the lightness of its appearance may have been



increased by lowering the two ends, the convenience of the bridge is much diminished, as it abuts on the east against a rising ground. On each bank is a tower, built to command it; and the passage may be closed by the gate of the guard-house at the west end, in case of need. Tradition pretends, that the towers are on Roman substructions, and that the one on the eastern side is the most ancient.

The building of the bridge is attributed to

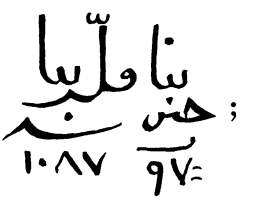
Trajan, or, according to some, to Adrian; and report speaks of an inscription, that once existed upon it, with the name of one of those emperors. The Turks attribute its erection to Suleyman, the Magnificent; but the Vizir, in answer to my question respecting its date, said that "though they claim it as a work of that Sultan, the truth is, it was there long before his time, and was probably built by the Pagans." The Turks have entirely concealed the original masonry; not a block is to be seen of Roman time, and the smallness of the stones, the torus under the parapet, and the spandril projecting slightly over the arch, give it all the appearance of Turkish construction. But the grandeur of the work, the form of the arch, and tradition, all favour its Roman origin; and the fact of the town being called Mostar, shows that an "*old bridge*" * already existed there, when it received that name; and Mostar was a city long before the Turkish invasion of the country.

Luccari says Mostar was built, in 1440, "by Radigost†, major-domo of Stefano Cosaccia;" but it was doubtless of a much earlier date, and traces of a Roman road are said to exist, leading from it to Gliubuski. Some suppose Mostar to be the ancient Sarsenterum. It was formerly a bishop's see, which was afterwards transferred to Narona, and then in-

* *Most star* signifies "*old bridge;*" as *Stari grad* is "old city."

† A singular adoption of the name of an old Pagan Slavonic Deity. See Vol. I., pp. 20, 21.

cluded in that of Macarska; and it had a convent of Franciscans, until about the beginning of the seventeenth century.*

On either pier of the abutment, at the east end of the bridge, is a Turkish inscription; one of which bears the date 1087 A. H., corresponding to 1659 A. D., the second year of Sultan Mahomet; probably referring to repairs made during his reign. The two inscriptions are: on the south side ; on the north  ;

but it was difficult to copy them accurately without a boat, which, at this season, could not approach the bridge.

Mostar seems to have been chosen by the Turks, as the chief town of Herzegóvina, immediately after the conquest of the country; and Rustum Pasha, who married Shems-kumr †, the daughter of Sultan Suleyman, was born there.‡ The town is

* See Farlati, iv. pp. 195, 196. Bartholomew, Bishop of Macarska, says that, in 1630, it had scarcely ten Christian houses, and those only for trading purposes. The Church of St. Stephen, at Citluk (or Gabella), was destroyed by the Turks in 1540, and rebuilt in 1614.

† A not uncommon Turkish name of women, meaning "sun and moon." ‡ Luccari.

scattered over a far larger space, than is necessary, for the number of houses, owing to the numerous gardens, and vacant spaces within it. It has two principal bazaars, or streets of shops; which are open in the centre, with a projecting shed over the raised footway, to protect passengers, as well as purchasers, from the sun and rain. The streets are mostly unpaved; except in one or two places, as on the ascent from the bridge towards the palace of the Vizir. The bazaars are not well supplied; the wants of the people being fewer than in most Turkish cities in the East; and the distance from Constantinople, whence all articles of taste and luxury are brought, makes the demand for them proportionably small. The prices too are greatly increased by it; and the Turk, who, like many persons fond of display, is very economical, generally waits till he can find an opportunity of making his purchases, through the medium of a friend.

Every one speaks Slavonic, and some of the Turks of Mostar know no other language. I met with few who understood Arabic, and only two Moslem strangers, one from Bagdad, the other from Damascus. The dialect of Herzegóvina and Bosnia is much the same as those of Dalmatia and Montenegro, but less pure than the latter, from the introduction of many Turkish words. Among them I observed the negative "*yôk*," "no," and several others.

The people are generally civil, and few, even while I was drawing in the streets, interfered, or made any ill-natured remarks. Having the express permission of the Vizir to do this, and being accompanied by persons in his employ, I had no fear of positive insult; and on talking to those, whom curiosity prompted to inquire about my occupation, I was treated with more civility than might be expected, considering the prejudices of Moslems against the Franks. Their being so rarely seen at Mostar may perhaps have a good, rather than a bad, effect; and the animosity of the people has not been excited against them, either by war, or any accidental collision.

I found, however, that no Turk would return my salutations, as I rode by them, on entering the town; perhaps from the dislike to see a Christian on horseback; and afterwards, while measuring the bridge, some appeared to look upon my proceedings with a little displeasure.

One man stopped to observe them, and give way to his feelings. He was a Turk, enveloped in a rough cloak, lined with green baize; whose lower extremities were planted in a pair of huge loose red boots, forcibly calling to mind farthing rush-lights in a night lamp. "What is the use," he said, "of Sultan Suleyman's building bridges for the true believers, if they are to be destroyed by the writings of the Franks? this has never been allowed, and something is sure to happen ——." Interrupted

by one of my companions, who assured him that he need be under no apprehensions, and that the Vizir had approved of what I was doing, he answered, "Does the Frank think he will build a bridge like this? not he—though they are so clever in making knives and scissors, and unclean wine, and move about so quickly in their scanty dress ——."

The Hakim-Bashi cut short his remarks, by observing that, as it was done by the Vizir's orders, if he had any inquiries to make, he had better go with him to the palace; upon which, thinking it more prudent to be silent, he continued his walk, muttering prayers for the safety of the bridge, and imprecations on the heads of infidels.

It is to the Vizir that all credit is due, for the good conduct of the Turks of Herzegóvina, who were formerly most insolent to strangers; extending their animosity even to the friendly deputation, that used to go through Mostar, from Ragusa, to congratulate each Pasha of Bosnia, on his accession to power; and I was told by a person, who in his youth had frequently accompanied the mission, that they were sometimes exposed to great indignities. On one occasion, happening to enter Mostar, at the moment when a boy's school was breaking up, they received a volley of apples, stones, and various missiles, which led to a more serious attack from grown-up persons; and they thought themselves fortunate to escape with their lives. I did not find the

European dress subject me to any insult, and had no reason to regret my persisting in wearing it; the only change I made being the Fez cap for the hat, which, to one accustomed to it, is both comfortable and convenient.

In going to the *café* I found the Turks very civil; and having met a man of Bagdad the first day, we had a long conversation about the East; to which, though no other person present understood a word we said, they all seemed to listen with satisfaction, inquiring now and then the meaning of some phrase, whenever we laughed. One indeed particularly amused, and probably puzzled, them: the servant of the "merchant of Bagdad" had brought a parcel to his master, upon which he observed, "it was the first time he ever remembered any thing that was told him," and on my saying "*ya! el Yahoódee mat*,"—"oh! the Jew is dead," * our laughter, at this droll Arabic expression, was communicated to the whole party; and, as often happens on such occasions, the laugh was so good an introduction to them, that whenever I passed by the café, some one, in that Turkish lounging-place, was sure to invite me to a pipe and coffee, and the "Boghdadli," if not there, was sent for, to talk for their amusement, though no one knew a word of Arabic.

This is one of many instances I have known, of

* This is used when any unexpected attention is paid, by any very careless person, to his duty.

the advantage of some Eastern language, in making friends with, or at least in overcoming the prejudices of, Moslems; and much may often be done to conciliate them, by attending to some of those peculiarities, to which they attach great importance. On the other hand, very little suffices to have a contrary effect; to take, or offer, any thing with the left hand would offend one, who had the kindest intentions; and their customs, and their life, are made up of trifles, as with other people; who are often less ready to admit it than Orientals.

One of the great reasons for their dislike of Franks is the difference of our habits; and the prejudices they have fostered against us, for imaginary faults, of which we are not guilty, often arise from want of inquiry, or from perversion of facts. Idle tales are repeated from one to another, and implicitly believed; and the sight of the Frank calls up a bitterness against him, which they indulge, by relating to each other his supposed odious customs; among which, the most common is his total disregard of all cleanly habits. I was therefore much amused by their embarrassment at Mostar, where an Englishman had never before been seen, respecting the quantity of water I required for my ablutions. I was asked if I was not in reality a Moslem; and on my assuring them, that I merely followed a custom common to my compatriots, I was evidently thought to be availing myself of a traveller's privilege; and they seemed

rather inclined to suppose I had acquired those habits, from a long sojourn on the Nile, than that any race of Europeans could have adopted them, without being indebted to the precepts of Islám.

Though the Moslems are not allowed to ill-treat the Christian *rayahs* in Herzegóvina, they look upon them with great contempt; and when any "true believer" covets their land, or has a spite against the *giaours*, he does not scruple to satisfy his caprice, or his anger, at the expense of justice. Turkish landlords are therefore despots to the Christian peasants. But their oppression is, in a great degree, checked by the Vizir; who, though a Turk in cunning, and arbitrary acts, when they suit his convenience, is a man of sense, and seeks to obtain credit for expanded views; and the march of improvement, if not of actual civilisation, is gradually extending itself even to this secluded province.

Whether the Turks will ever become really civilised, before their rule ceases in Europe, may be doubted; and the rapid decline of their power is everywhere perceptible. Nor are they ignorant of it; and the conviction that they are losing their consequence in the world, though not openly allowed by them, already influences their conduct; as success and power formerly inflated their pride, and rendered them overbearing and oppressive; and no people will more quietly sink from conquerors, to passive, indolent, inoffensive sub-

jects, than the Turks; when they see themselves reduced to that condition, by a power they cannot resist. Provided no violence is used, to rouse them to resistance, they will submit even to Christian rule, with the same belief in *Kismet*, as to the despotism of a Moslem prince. But any attempt to expel them forcibly from Europe might be fraught with serious consequences; leading to nothing short of the massacre of their Christian *rayahs;* who, though more numerous, are mostly unarmed, and disunited, and who, as in all such cases, would be overwhelmed by the powerful, and armed, minority. It is not however likely that this step will be taken by any European power; and those, who are most interested in the affairs of Turkey, are fully aware of the policy, best suited to the management of that question.

Besides the Vizir, and his sons, who have adopted the same enlarged projects as their father, Mostar has the advantage of a liberal-minded Cadi; and the influence of those leading men is not paralyzed by the intolerant character of the Mufti, who would willingly countenance any fanatical excesses.

But while the Christians rejoice in the improvement of their condition, they do not, on their part, treat those who differ from them with the same forbearance; and the Greeks and Catholics are more bitter in their hatred of each other, than the Turks and Christians.

The peasants of Herzegóvina are nearly all Christians; the Turks are the landowners, and the

principal inhabitants of Mostar, and other places; for even the poorest Moslems resort to the towns; and such is the pride of the ruling race, that they prefer to lead a life of idleness, and often of misery, rather than follow some honest, and industrious, employment. The same is the case in Servia, and other Christian provinces of Turkey.*

The convenient hour for an interview with the Vizir having arrived, I went to the palace, accompanied by the Hakim-Báshi, who was to introduce me, and act as interpreter. On the right of the entrance to the palace-court is a round tower, pierced with embrasures for cannon; which may be easily run up, in case of need, from the sheds below; where they live, in peaceable times, with carts, and other inoffensive machines. The whole parapet of this tower bristles with sharp wooden stakes, placed at a convenient distance from each other, for receiving the heads of Montenegrins, killed, or taken, in war; but they were, at this time, nearly all disengaged; the heads being limited to the small number of four or five. Of these, two had been recently put up; one of a youth, the other of an older man, in which I thought I recognised the features of one of the swarthy strangers, who visited us in the evening at Mishke †, and talked of a foray into Turkey.

The party, it seems, had penetrated far into the

* See Bystrzonowski's Serbie, p. 21.

† See above, Vol. I. p. 520.

country, and had committed great depredations, when three were taken prisoners, and being carried to Mostar, were condemned to lose their heads. Two were executed; but, watching his opportunity, while the Turks were engaged in decapitating his companions, the third started from the midst of the assembled crowd, and actually escaped, in spite of guns, and the number of his pursuers; the love of life, and the natural swiftness of the Montenegrin, being more than a match for the clumsy agility of the Turks, who were thus deprived of one of their trophies.

The vengeance of the Turks is not always satisfied with mere decapitation; the Montenegrin prisoners are sometimes subjected to much cruel treatment, before they are put to death; and many (as I afterwards understood from the Vladika) have been impaled; a mode of torture still practised, within the present century, by the cruelty of the Osmanlis.* As long as they have life, unfortunate captives, in the hands of the Turks, may be exposed to whatever treatment caprice, or anger, may suggest; but when the sword, or their sufferings, have released them from persecution, their bodies are spared the insult of being left unburied; and those of the Montenegrins are given to the Greeks of Mostar, who, being of the same persuasion, bury them in their own cemetery.

The palace is a building of no beauty, quite in

* It is not twenty years since the Defterdar Bey impaled some of the peasants in Egypt.

the Turkish style, with large projecting eaves, and much painted woodwork; the south end of which is entirely occupied by the Hareem, looking upon a garden, separated from the court-yard by a wall.

On ascending the steps, leading to the hall, I found that public business was still going on, and that the "great man" was not yet visible. I was, therefore, invited to pay a visit to his son, Hadji Rizvan Bek, in an adjoining room; where I was presented to a young man, of gentlemanly manners, though not devoid of the hauteur of Turks in authority, nor of their fondness for display in dress.

The Vizir has three sons, Zulfikar Bek, Hadji Rizvan Bek, and Rustum Bek; the eldest about twenty-four, and the youngest twenty years of age.

Zulfikar Bek is commander of the forces, and governor of Stolatz, the stronghold of Herzegóvina, to which the Vizir always looks with confidence, in the event of any disturbance in the country, or any attempt to deprive him of his government.

It appears, indeed, that a few years ago, the Sultan had shown a disposition to remove him from his post; complaints of extortion and injustice having been made against him at Constantinople; but the commissioner, sent to Mostar to inquire into the matter, was fully convinced of his innocence, by a well-applied bribe.

By this conclusive evidence, the Vizir was relieved from all suspicion, and from the displeasure of the Porte; further accusations were shown to

be unnecessary; and to prove to his accusers their falsehood, or their folly, they were severely punished; — a *dénouement* by no means unusual; and one, which might have occurred, with all the same accompanying features, in any part of Turkey. It was perhaps in connection with this, and the prospect of a more serious interference of the Porte, that he observed to me, in talking of Stolatz, that it "is always a wise measure to fortify ourselves against our enemies."

Stolatz stands on the Bregava, which traverses it, as the Narenta does the town of Mostar. It has lately received additional defences; and the blowing up of the powder magazine, which destroyed many of the works, afforded an excellent excuse for strengthening the place. During the rebellion, that happened ten years ago, in Herzegóvina and Bosnia, against the authority of the Sultan, the Vizir was besieged in that fortress. He was, at the time, commandant of Pógitel, and *aián*, or governor, of Stolatz, under the Pasha of Bosnia. The rebels were headed by his brother Hadji Bek; but their defeat established order in the country; the rebel chief was taken prisoner, and beheaded (report says by the Vizir himself), for raising a conspiracy against the Sultan, and for the cruelties he had perpetrated in the country; in consequence of which successful overthrow of rebellion, he received from the Sultan the title of Vizir, independent of Bosnia, to which

Herzegóvina had hitherto been attached. He was assisted on the occasion by Assam Bek, governor of Trebigne, who also received the thanks of the Sultan for his loyalty, but who, being an unambitious man, was satisfied with the permission to continue in the office of governor of his native city.

I was agreeably surprised to find that Hadji Rizvan Bek spoke Arabic, with great facility. He had been to the pilgrimage of Mecca, and had remained some time at Cairo, of which place he had acquired the idiom. After some remarks on Egypt and the East, I told him I had lately been into Montenegro, and had taken considerable interest in the relations between that country and Turkey. The name of Montenegro appeared to startle, and displease, him; I soon found the subject was by no means welcome; and on my stating, that the Vladika appeared to be anxious for peace with Herzegóvina, he answered, "the Vladika, and all those Greeks, are always false *, and no one can believe a word of their promises, or professions."

This did not surprise me, as young Turks are frequently impetuous, and haughty; and it is only when age and experience, and, perhaps, greater practice in dissimulation, have taught them to soften, or disguise, their temper, that they listen patiently to the opinions of others, and have that appearance of amiability, which is frequently applauded in the older Turks.

* The "Κρητες αει ψευσται."

The only person present was the Cadi; who understood Arabic, and joined now and then in the conversation.

At length, a messenger came in, to announce that the Vizir was disengaged, and would receive me. I therefore took leave of the Bek, with a wish that "*inshallah*," I might have the pleasure of talking to him again of Montenegro; to which he replied with an *inshallah*, that indicated no very great wish for a renewal of the subject.

The Vizir, Ali Pasha* Rizvan Begovich, is a native of Herzegóvina. He may be about sixty years of age, but from gout, or some other infirmity, appears much older. His manner was very courteous. After thanking him for his letter, and conversing upon various topics, from Stamboul to the bridge of Mostar, I introduced the subject of the Montenegrins; being anxious to fulfil my intentions respecting their barbarous warfare with the Turks.

I said I had lately come from Montenegro; and, from what had been told me, had reason to believe, he was as desirous as the Vladika to establish a peace, and put an end to a war, which, after continuing for ages, only entailed great injuries on both parties, without a single benefit. He replied, that "nothing was more desirable; but that all attempts hitherto made had been fruitless, and there was no trusting to a reconciliation with Montenegro;" adding, nearly in the words of his son,

* He signs himself Ali *Ghaleb*, or "*the Conqueror*."

"besides, who can trust a Greek? They are all alike: I do not mean Greek people alone, but all who are of that religious sect." I suggested that "it was rather to the nature of their barbarous warfare, than to any other cause, that the impossibility of a lasting peace was to be attributed; and that so long as the custom of cutting off the heads of the killed, and of prisoners, continued, a durable peace was impossible."

"When a man," I observed, "is killed in battle, his relations, and friends, console themselves with the idea, that he met his death by the chance of war, in short, that it was '*written*' * he should die, and they bewail a misfortune, which no human power could avert; but to cut off the head is an insult to the dead, which his friends are all bound to revenge; and so complicated a series of blood feuds becomes recorded on each side, that all chance of reconciliation is at an end, and peace can never be established on a permanent footing. Angry feelings soon outweigh all considerations of advantage to their country, and no compact is long respected." †

He assured me "the Montenegrins were the first to begin this practice;" which, however, the known customs of the Turks render very doubtful; and to which I could only reply, that "it mattered little

* According to Turkish and Montenegrin fatalism.

† These remarks, and others of a similar kind, I repeated, during this, and a subsequent, interview. See below, p. 82.

who was the originator of it, the great point being who should be the first to abandon it; and as the Turks were the more powerful of the two, it was their duty to set the example; since a smaller state could not be expected to do this, lest it should be construed into a token of fear, or submission, which it was their reasonable policy to avoid." He allowed there was "great truth in that," but believed that his example would not be followed by the Vladika; when I assured him that, from the conversation I had had, on the subject, with the Montenegrin Bishop, he would gladly welcome, and imitate, it; "and this step, which must always be the first, being once taken, some hopes might be entertained that peace would follow; the only thing then required being the guarantee of a friendly power, whose mediation both parties respected, and which they might find in their Austrian neighbours."

This, he said, had been already attempted; they had held a conference at Ragusa; but the Vladika proved not to be sincere, and even the regard for a common friend had no hold upon him. "Such being the case," I observed, "the opinion I before expressed is only the more confirmed by it, and the necessity of beginning at the beginning the more plainly demonstrated; the first step being the cessation of that barbarous custom, since a civilised peace can only follow a civilised war."

Besides the propriety of the Turks being the first to abandon it, for the reasons before stated, I

reminded him that they were also the most interested in its cessation, and in the establishment of peace, as they had more to lose than the Montenegrins; who, being poor, were always robbing their richer neighbours; "and in a border warfare the poor have always more to gain than the rich." "What makes me so angry," he said, "is not their robbery, but their uncalled-for cruelty to the poor people. They murder them, and they burn their huts, for no purpose. They even penetrate into the country, as far as the mountains to the east of Blagai, within three hours from Mostar; where they plunder the poor, in those secluded districts; and when they find more booty, than they can carry off, they wantonly destroy it; which can find no excuse on the score of their poverty."

But the Vizir forgot that the Turks enter the Montenegrin territories, at harvest time, burning, and destroying, with the same disregard for "the poor," and, without the excuse of satisfying their own wants: I did not, however, think it necessary to *remind* him of this fact; and only observed that to stop their robberies was, certainly, a difficult task; which would require time; the grand point, for the present, being to render the wars more humane, and thus take away the causes of the cruel animosity they bore each other. I ventured to predict that, when once that was done, the result would be a general improvement in their intercourse with their neighbours; suggested him that "the

proof of their robberies having, in some degree, ceased, was to be found in the increasing poverty of the Montenegrins; who, deprived of that resource, were compelled to send away, annually, a number of the poorer people into Servia; the Vladika thinking this emigration more desirable than the depredation of their neighbours." "It is true," observed the Vizir, "that many have left Montenegro, and some have settled even in Herzegóvina; where they are received as if they had never done us any injury; and there are several living at Mostar, who came without any thing, and who are now very well off. Besides, to prove how much better disposed we are towards them, than they are to us, we not only allow them to settle, and become subjects of Turkey, but even to visit Mostar, and sell any thing they like; though no Turk can go into Montenegro, without being assassinated." The truth of this could not be denied; for I had seen some at Mostar selling their goods, unmolested, in the streets; and I knew that the approach of a Turk to the Montenegrin frontier could only be at the hazard of his life.

He then referred to the nine Turks, killed on their return from Ostrok, though messengers of peace, and said his son would have been one of them, had not the people of Niksich interfered, and assured him that it was imprudent to expose himself to assassination. "Had he gone," he added, "he might have fallen with the others, like the Governor of Niksich." There could be but one answer, and

one opinion, respecting that outrage; and I endeavoured to impress upon him, that it was for the very purpose of preventing such disgraceful occurrences, as well as of changing the savage character of their wars, that I insisted so strongly on the cessation of the cruelties, that led to them.

"I am a stranger," I continued, "equally to the Turks, and Montenegrins: I can have no object but their own good, in what I recommend, and I leave you to judge, whether the adoption of my advice is likely to be beneficial to them. I am now at Mostar: in a few months I shall be many hundreds of miles away, and the Turks and Montenegrins will fight, and their heads will be fixed on the towers of Mostar and Tzetinie, without my seeing, or even hearing of it. I confess that when I went to Tzetinie, and saw twenty Turkish heads, the sincere wish crossed my mind, that such a practice should be abolished; and it has not diminished, on seeing the same cruel trophies at Mostar. But I mention it, not for my own sake, but for the friends of those who suffer. And can you not distinguish men, who are brave in war, without requiring from them a human head, to prove their valour in battle? We had, in past times, many a battle with the French; but neither people found it necessary to make their heroes bring back a head, as a proof of courage; and yet we rewarded those who were brave, quite as effectually as the Montenegrins, or the Turks; and the truly brave are always the most humane."

"Your object," he answered, "I know to be benevolent, and disinterested; and I agree with you, respecting the wisdom of abandoning the practice you object to; indeed, I have already expressed my wish to the Vladika, to that effect, and am ready to command my people to abstain from it, the moment the Vladika will agree to do the same; though I doubt his having the power to enforce his authority over his subjects. However, as you assure me he expressed a wish to stop it, and as I can have no communication with him, after what has recently happened, I willingly leave it in your hands, if you will write to the Vladika, and remind him of his words."

This I promised to do; and accordingly, on my return to Spalato, I sent him the following letter, containing the substance of my conversation with the Vizir.

"A SON EMINENCE, MONSEIGNEUR PIETRO PETROVICH-NEGOSH, VLADIKA DE MONTENEGRO ET BERDA.

"Spalato, le 27^{me} Nov^{re}, 1844.

"MONSEIGNEUR,

"A mon retour de Mostar, je profite du premier moment d'écrire à Votre Eminence, afin de vous faire part d'un sujet, auquel je sais que vous prenez beaucoup d'intérêt. Comme j'ai eu occasion de voir le Vizir d'Herzegóvine plus d'une fois, je n'ai pas manqué de lui parler franchement touchant la manière de faire la guerre avec le Montenegro.

Il m'écouta avec bonté, et d'après l'expérience que j'ai eue des Turcs, je dirais que c'est un homme de beaucoup plus de franchise, et de bonne foi, que ne se trouvent chez la plupart de ses compatriotes. Il m'assura qu'il ne désirait rien mieux que la paix, c'est à dire, une paix durable et sincère, qui pourrait mettre fin à toutes les vexations et représailles, qui ont eu lieu depuis tant d'années, et qu'il était prêt à en établir les conditions, du moment qu'elles pourraient être fondées sur des bases inébranlables, avec le garant, de part et d'autre, de quelque puissance étrangère.

" Mais Votre Eminence aura déjà connaissance de cela, et il est inutile d'en dire davantage. La chose qui est d'importance, pour le moment, et sur laquelle j'insistai le plus, en parlant au Vizir, fut l'usage de trancher la tête à ceux qui sont pris, ou tués, en guerre ; et sachant combien Votre Eminence tient à cœur l'abandon d'un usage, si choquant à l'humanité, je m'empressai de lui représenter les mauvais effets qui en résultent, et de lui dire ce qu'on en pense dans les autres pays de l'Europe.

" Je lui expliquai, aussi, comment cet usage rend la guerre plus acharnée, et lui donne un caractère que nos guerres n'ont pas ; que nous avions eu, dans le tems, de longues guerres avec les Français, sans que l'un ou l'autre ait songé à trancher les têtes ; et que les guerriers se distin guaient, et se faisaient connaître des autres, sans la nécessité de rapporter une tête ennemie, pour faire voir leurs faits d'armes ; et d'ailleurs, que chacun gagnait la récompense de son courage auprès de son souverain, sans faire tort à l'humanité.

" Je lui représentai aussi la différence des sentimens qu'engendrent une guerre civilisée, et une guerre, où un pareil usage s'adopte : en premier cas, quand les parens,

ou les amis, de quelqu'un tué en bataille, apprennent sa mort, ils l'attribuent au sort de la guerre; et ceux qui croient à la prédestination (comme les Turcs surtout) se persuadent naturellement, que son tems était préscrit, et que le destin l'avait ordonnée; mais, de l'autre côté, quand on tranche la tête, on insulte le mort, et les sentimens de résignation à la volonté divine sont remplacés par ceux de la vengeance; ses parens et ses amis, alors, se croient en devoir de se venger de l'insulte faite à leur compatriote; et il en résulte, que la guerre devient plus féroce, plus cruelle, plus malfaisante; la vengeance n'est jamais satisfaite; et dans un état pareil, la paix ne peut jamais être établie sur des bases solides.

"Voilà, (avec bien d'autres observations plus en détail,) la teneur générale de mon entretien avec le Vizir sur ce sujet; et (quoique peu habitué comme Turc, d'entendre censurer ses usages) loin de le prendre mal, il le traita avec bon sens, et m'assura que la chose cesserait, du moment que Votre Eminence la voudrait, et qu'il n'attendrait que le signal, pour se montrer sincèrement d'accord sur l'abandon d'un usage, qu'il était bien loin de vouloir continuer.

". . . . . Sachant combien vous désirez que la chose cesse, et la difficulté de la proposer aux Turcs, qui la croiraient plutôt le résultat de la crainte que de l'humanité, j'ai cru devoir ne pas perdre une si bonne occasion de lui en parler. Comme étranger, totalement indépendent, il était facile à faire voir, que je ne pourrais avoir autre but que le bien de l'humanité, l'avantage des deux nations, et le désir d'ôter cette réproche que leur fait l'Europe, et dont on parle tant en Dalmatie.

"S'il paraît convenable à Votre Eminence d'écrire au Vizir sur ce sujet, vous pouvez lui faire rappeller les

assurances qu'il m'a exprimées, de vouloir bien être d'accord sur l'abolition de cet usage, qui est, comme je lui ai dit, le premier pas vers la paix. . . . . ."

" J'ai l'honneur. . . . . ."

&c., &c.

This was the principal part of my letter; to which I received the following reply: —

" Illustrissimo Signor Cavaliére,

" Con sommo piacere ricevetti, la di Lei onorevol lettera, in data Spalato, 27 Novembre, 1844, dalla quale appresi che ha viaggiato anche pel Erzegovina; ed ha avuto un colloquio col medemo Visir, riguardo alla guerra fra noi ed i Turchi. Il di Lei disegno è nobile ed umano, acciò si distolga l'abbominevol uso di troncar le teste nelle scarramucchie fatte fra noi e loro; questo serve a Lei d'un massimo onore, ed ha fatto tutto quello ch' avrebbe agito ogni nobile, il quale ha un anima sensibile, ed inbevuta di compassione per l' umanità.

" Ma sia ben certa, Illustrissimo Cavaliére, che tutto questo è inutile; quel medemo Visir, il quale a Lei si mostrò si placido, ed inclinato al bene, questo non è da parte sua null' altro che una solita finzione addatata ai Turchi; quello è un lupo della Cristianità, il quale si mostrò dinanzi a Lei nella pelle di pecora; come suppongo, egli è uno de' più gran tiranni ai giorni nostri, la sua biografia é piena delle orribili innumanità, e non basti che per volontà sua si recidon le teste dagli estinti; ma, che di più? egli medemo ordina d' impalare gli uomini vivi, e Dio ne sa quanti ancor ne inpallerà s' ei susiste; e quello farebbe un atto cavaleresco d' umanità, il quale lo distoglierebbe da queste disumane azioni.

" A lui solo non si può attribuire tutta la colpa; queste sono azioni disumane, già ai Turchi ereditarie.

" I Turchi ne impararon, nelle scaramucchie al pari di

lor recider le teste, e ciò soltanto le teste dei infedeli, ma lodato sia Iddio, ch' eglino non aizaron in noi le vendette a quel grado, per isparger sopra di loro tutte quelle brutevoli disumanità, le quali eglino spargono sopra la Cristianità.

" Siate ben certo, Nobil Cavaliére, che nei Turchi n' esiste in giornata quel medemo sentimento, il quale in loro fù al tempo d' Osmano e Bajazetto ; soltanto ch' eglino v' indossano dinanzi ai diplomati Europei la mentita larva, della voluntà alla civilisazione e regolarità, e questa è una scusa bastevole d' inanzi a quelli, i quali non sanno quello che son i Turchi ; se loro non ingannassero con questo le corti Europee, quanto è la quistione politica per l' Europa lassa, non vi asserverebbe l' Europa civilisata con cuor tranquillo queste inudite inumanità Turche, nel secolo decimonono. Milioni de Cristiani gridano incessantemente sulle pene tiranniche, ma non li ode veruno ; serve questo d' onore alla civilisazione e filantroppia del secolo decimonono ?

" Molti ne scrissero contro le tirannie Turche, ai quali desse consapevol sono, ma la mercede a lor dai diplomati Europei fu questa che li proclamaron non favorevoli alla universal quiete ; è l' inutil cosa navigare contro l' aqua, e contro il vento scioglier le vele ; il tempo è il vecchio operatore, desso rifarrà anche questa cosa.

" Addio, Signor Cavaliére, le auguro un buon viaggio, prego non dimenticar con la di Lei cara rimembranza questo capo de montanari. — Il quale con distinta stima si raferma, di

" Vostra Signoria Illustrissima, 'umile Servo,

" Vladika di Montenegro,

P. P. Negosch

"*Cetinje, li* $\frac{29\ Nov.}{11\ Dec}$ 1844."

The opinion of one so intimately acquainted with the Turks, as the Vladika, gives matter for reflection; and though he sees them through the medium of strong prejudice, it is not less true that it is founded upon experience, and shows that the same savage conduct, displayed of old by that people, continues to the present day. But this does not alter the question, nor affect the possibility of abolishing all such barbarities; and if the Vizir thinks it necessary to "assume a virtue" before Europeans, he may end by practising it in reality. The fact is, the Turks begin to find they have lost their consequence, and seek to recover some portion of it, by volunteering to conform to the customs of Europe, and we may therefore hope that they will, at length, be disposed to introduce civilised habits, even in their most remote provinces.

That the Turks have not at heart the real feelings of civilisation is possible; they never had any inclination towards them; they came into Europe as a horde, they became great as a horde, they remained as a horde; and they are the only instance of a nation that has reached the zenith of its power, and fallen again, without ever having become civilised. But they are now imitating our habits, and we ought therefore to avail ourselves of their readiness to adopt them, whenever the objects of humanity can be advanced; and even though the Vizir may be *naturally* cruel, "as in the time of Osman and Bajazet," a desirable result will be obtained,

if he is persuaded to *conform* to the customs of civilisation.

Though it was evident, from the mistrust of each other, evinced by the Vladika and the Vizir, that no compact would be arranged between them, respecting the decapitation of their prisoners, I did not yet despair; and I therefore laid the matter before our Ambassador at Constantinople; offering, at the same time, if further communications were required between the Vladika and the Vizir, to return to Tzetinie and Mostar; as I felt sure that, if any willingness was evinced on the part of the Porte to interfere, and some other nation showed an interest in the matter, there would be every prospect of success.

With the promptness and energy, that mark the conduct of Sir Stratford Canning, the subject was referred to the Reis Effendi; and though this was *not* done *officially*, but merely as a question of humanity, there was reason to hope that the Porte would raise no objection, when no other interference was asked than its approbation. But the Osmanlis, "forgetting their lesson" of civilisation, treated it, as if some great favour had been asked for Montenegro: they talked of claims upon that country they never had; required the "*submission*" of an independent state; and entirely forgot that their own subjects were quite as much, or more, interested, in the cessation of this barbarous custom. They were (with reason) enraged at "the

late act of treachery;" and certainly if the Montenegrins asked any boon, it might be justly refused; but this was not the case, and it was evident to all, except a Turk, that the advantages would be mutual.

But the Osmanli is always suspicious: the matter dropped; and I regret to say, that nothing farther could be done, to promote this desirable object *; which however, I hope, at no very distant period, may be more successfully urged upon the Turks, when the recollection of the sad affair of Ostrok has in some degree subsided, and their anger no longer blinds them to an act of humanity, and to their own advantage.

Besides the evident reason for abolishing this practice, on the score of humanity, and for the sake of the Montenegrins, and their immediate neighbours, there is a motive for its speedy discontinuance on more general grounds; and the part which the Montenegrins may be called upon to perform, if Russia's policy enables her to use her influence over the Slavonic races, or if the Southern Slavonians combine to emancipate themselves, from the

* I have much satisfaction in adding that, since writing the above, I have received a letter from the Vizir of Herzegóvina, in which he states, that all shall be done on his part "to put a stop to the bad feeling existing between the two countries," and he hopes "the Montenegrins will have the fear of God before them, and sufficient regard for the opinion of the world, to meet his views, and abstain from robbery and murder."

Ottoman yoke, points out the expediency of checking customs, which, under the plea of retaliation, may lead to a savage warfare, on a far more extensive scale.

To return to Mostar. The houses are mostly of masonry, roofed with slabs of stone, and have less woodwork than those of most Turkish towns. The eaves of some of the larger houses project considerably, but they are mostly like those in Dalmatia, except in the bazaars, which are quite Turkish. The minarets are of the usual candle-and-extinguisher order, common at Constantinople, and other places, and so picturesque in appearance, (though not commendable for architectural elegance, like the beautiful minarets of Cairo,) and which might almost be supposed to have owed their form to the candles and their appendages, seen in a Christian church, by some whimsical Turkish conqueror.

At Mostar, as in Jerusalem, and some other Eastern towns, the Moslems have the odious custom, of slaughtering cattle and sheep in the streets; which is particularly offensive, even though confined to a particular spot; so disagreeable does it appear, even to them, that they frequently make the Jews' quarter the public *abattoir;* and I always took care not to mention to a Turk, that our Smithfield, and our slaughter-houses, were in the heart of London, lest he should think we took a pleasure in the same disgusting custom.

We were lodged at the house of the Vizir's Hakim-Bashi, a Hungarian, who pretends to the name of Kacich, or Baracich-Kacich, and claims descent from that noble family. He is a refugee from Dalmatia, whence "a serious affair" compelled him to migrate to Herzegóvina; but being very useful to the Vizir, all applications from the Austrians, to have him delivered up to them, have been unavailing. It was not long after we entered the town that we met him, on his way to look for us; which was very fortunate, as the difficulty of finding any one, in a place where the streets have no names, and the houses no numbers, is great, and often occasions much loss of time. He had gone the day before, according to the Vizir's instructions, to meet us on the road; and every thing being prepared at his house for our reception, we were entertained by him, during our stay at Mostar.

The Moslem women of Mostar conceal their faces, as throughout Turkey; but here they have a strange mask, of black horsehair, worked round the edges with gold thread. They have a veil on the head and neck; and the rest of the dress consists of a cloth *feregi*, over a silk dress, with full fatimas, yellow boots, and slippers, as at Constantinople. Some go out, without the mask, and pull the cloth *feregi* over their heads, holding it tight to their faces, and peeping out of a corner with one eye; who, when pretty, frequently contrive to remove it from the face, "accidentally on purpose;" and, when a

passer-by is *supposed* not to be looking, suddenly pull it over the face, as if they were in a great hurry, and quite unconscious of having been seen. Curiosity, perhaps, at seeing my Frank dress, made them forget their faces; but, at all events, I am bound to say they were often very pretty, and with very delicate complexions.

The air is light and good at Mostar, and, on coming from Vido, or Fort Opus, every one must feel sensible of the difference, and of the healthiness of the climate. The plain of Mostar abounds in hares, particularly in winter, when the snow drives them from the hills, and is excellent ground for coursing.

The principal exports are hides, wool, fruit, wax, cattle, and tallow; but they are in small quantities; and most of them are produced, in much greater abundance, in Bosnia; which is a richer, as well as a larger, province.

Austrian money is current throughout Herzegóvina; and a constant communication is kept up with Dalmatia. The tobacco grown there is good, and sold at the cheap rate of eight-pence an English pound, or half an oka; and in the bazaars may be found some of the excellent qualities from Bosnia, which, particularly that of Saraivo, are highly esteemed throughout Turkey. Mostar is also noted for its apples, and prunes.*

* The *Susine* of Dalmatia.

Herzegóvina, which is a long narrow region, scarcely fifty miles in the broadest part, and containing about 7000 square miles, is divided into thirteen prefectures, or departments, and has about 200,000 inhabitants. The principal towns, after Mostar, are Stolatz, Trebigne, (the ancient Tribulium, and a place well known in the early Christian history of the country,) Gliubuski, Niksich, Pogitel, Gliubigne, Clobuk, Keupris, and others; and, about thirty miles above Mostar, is the site of the ancient city of Delminium *, a short distance from the Narenta. The sources of this river are eight hours distant from Mostar, to the south-east of Mount Velleg; and, after passing by Konitz, it takes a north-westerly direction round the northern extremity of the Velleg range to Mostar. It receives these tributaries during its course, the Ráma (in Bosnia): the Dregnitza, and the Radoboglie (which last joins it near the bridge of Mostar), the Yasenitza, the Boona, and Boonitza, in the plain, and the Bregava and Trebisat, near Gabella. There is much sand in the bed of the Narenta, particularly about Mostar, which is probably brought down from the sandstone rocks, in the neighbourhood of the granites, near its sources. The soil itself is also sandy, near the town.

The Radoboglie is a small stream, which, rising in the hills to the west of Mostar, and traversing an

* Farlati, vol. i. p. 87. and 158., says, now "Dumno," perhaps Douvno.

undulating valley, runs through the western part of the town; where, after turning several mills, it falls into the Narenta, by two mouths; one of which passes through a skew arch, of *no very late* construction. From the same hills, and the same source, the water of the aqueduct is brought, that supplies Mostar, and runs over the bridge. It is conveyed, through a series of water-towers and pipes, for a distance of four miles. Behind those hills, about two hours to the west of Mostar, is a large lake, or morass, called *Blat* (or *paludo*), forty miles in circumference, which, if dried, might suffice to grow grain enough for the whole province. Two-thirds of it are dry in summer. On the shores are Lakaiseno, and other villages.

Fortis says * that the banks of the Narenta were famous, in former times, "among the professors of pharmacy, to whom Nicander prescribes to gather the Iris there for the theriaca; and Theophrastus, cited by Athenæus, gives the preference, over all other countries that produce that plant, to the Illyric mountains at a distance from the sea." He also supposes that the *sherbet* made by the Turks "at Mostar, and other places of Bosnia," by infusing honey-combs in water, is the same kind of hydromel, used of old by the Illyrians, called Taulantii, who inhabited this country; a description of which he gives, from a work, attributed by some to Aristotle.

* Fortis, p. 312.

The continuance of the custom in the country is remarkable; but it may, at the same time, be observed that the use of *mead* is prevalent among all the Slavonians; and the Slavonic origin of this name is shown by *med*, or *mëud*, signifying "honey." Pliny gives the same account of the Iris, of which he says the best quality is from Illyricum, in the inland wooded parts about the Naro and Drilo, where two kinds are produced. From the root was made a sweet ointment, and a medicinal extract; and the former was similar to the *regale unguentum*, a compound spikenard used by the kings of Parthia.*

The highest mountains of Herzegóvina are the Velleg, Domitor, and Vlásichi; the first of which is said to surpass any in Bosnia, and has some snow on the north side all the year. It is part of the ancient range of Mount Scardus, which, running thence to the north-east of the modern Montenegro and Albania, joins Mount Hæmus.

I was surprised to find so few Jews at Mostar, the only three being the *Saráf*† (banker) of the Vizir, his attendant, and a servant; but at Bosna-Sarai, or Saraivo, in Bosnia, they are numerous. That town is of considerable size, and has some well supplied bazaars.

Bosnia is governed by a Vizir, who resides at Travnik, and has three Pashas under him, one at Saraivo, another at Bainalooka, and the third at

* Plin. Nat. Hist. xxi. 7. and xiii. 2.

† Literally a "changer."

Toózlé. Travnik is the seat of government, Saraivo the largest city. At San Giovanni, in Sutieska *, are some celebrated baths, and the tombs of the Christian kings † of Bosnia; and at the convents of Crescevo ‡ and Fognizza, report speaks of ruins, and of ancient records preserved there by the monks.

During my interview with the Vizir, I had obtained permission from him to sketch his palace, and Hareem, from the garden; and while occupied in doing this, his youngest son, a child of four or five years of age, was brought by a Greek nurse, at the desire of the ladies, whose curiosity was excited at this novel proceeding. In the mean time they indulged as much of it as they could, by looking out of the windows; and the conversation was evidently very animated among them; the usual expressions, "O my sister," "O my two eyes," &c. being abundantly ejaculated. At length I received a message, requesting permission to look at my sketch-book; which, on their promising not to touch the coloured drawings with their fingers, I sent by their Greek slave. They kept it a reasonable time, and then returned it with many polite speeches; but whether they looked at it upside down or not, I will not pretend to say.

* Sutriska, or Sutinska. Appendini says Sutieska is in Herzegóvina. It is near the Bosna, E.S.E. of Travnik.

† According to Luccari.

‡ Or Cresevo. See below, p. 107.

The difficulty that Orientals have, in understanding European drawing, is very singular; and some cannot even distinguish a horse from a house. The shadows are particularly puzzling to them: "One side of your face," they say, "is not black;" and they ask, "Where is the other arm?" when a figure stands sideways. But the same person, who is unable to comprehend one of our pictures, can immediately point out all that is portrayed in Egyptian sculpture; where the figures are in profile, shadowless, and with the different members put together to form the whole. It is not therefore surprising that the first efforts of sculpture, or painting, were in that rude style; and we see that in old Greek profiles the eye was in front, as in those of Egypt, Etruria, and Chaldæa.

The Vizir had mentioned to me his villa at Boona, and had proposed to send his horses, that we might ride over to see it. He also recommended a short *détour* to Blagai, on the other side of the plain, where the river Boona issues from a cavern in the mountain.

At Blagai was a celebrated castle, in the time of the Dukes of Santo Saba, previous to the Turkish conquest. Luccari says, "Blagai stands on a rock, above the river Boona, fortified by the ancient Voivodas of the country, to protect their *treasure*, as its name implies; Blagai (or Blago) signifying '*treasure*.'" It was governed by a Count; and the Counts of Blagai performed a distinguished part in

the history of Herzegóvina. Some of them, as the Boscinovich and Hranich, are known for their misfortunes, having been compelled to seek refuge in Ragusa, at the time of the Turkish invasion; and the last who governed the "treasure city" of Blagai was Count George, who fled to the Ragusan territory in 1465.

Herzegóvina received its name from the title of Herzog*, "Duke," given in 1358 by Tuartko, king of Bosnia, to the first governor of the province. It was also called Duchy of Santo Saba, from the tomb of that saint.† In former times, it included the district of Culmia‡, or Chelmo; which extended along the sea coast, from the Ragusan territory to the Narenta§, (and afterwards to the Cettina); and Castelnuovo, Risano, and other places on the Gulf of Cattaro, were added to it by King Tuartko.

After the disputes of Tuartko II. and Ostoya had opened a way, for the interference of the Turks in Bosnia, which ultimately led to the conquest of that country, towards the middle of the fifteenth century‖, Herzegóvina was not long in falling a prey to those conquerors. Stephen, the last Duke,

* Or Voivoda.

† This was Rasko, brother of King Stephen Ourosh, and Archbishop of Servia. See above, Vol. I. p. 302., and below, Appendix C. Appendini, i. p. 273.

‡ Or Zaculmia. See above, Vol. I. p. 279. note.

§ According to Porphyrogenitus. Appendini, i. p. 148. and 294. Memorie, ii. p. 204.

‖ See the History in Chapter IX.

was obliged to pay tribute, and send his son a hostage to the Porte; and in 1483 the country was invaded by Essi Bek, Sangiak of Triconesi*, who having expelled Vladislav and Vladko, the two remaining sons of Stephen, set a Turkish governor over the country, with the title of Bek.

From that time, Herzegóvina has remained in the hands of the Osmanlis; but the districts, and towns, on the coast were afterwards taken from it by the Venetians; and it is now an inland province.

The history of Bosnia and Herzegóvina is little known, and perhaps not of general interest. The miseries endured by the people, when conquered by the Turks, the affliction of families bereft of their children, when, on one occasion, 30,000 Bosnian youths were taken away by Mahomet II.†, to swell the ranks of the Osmanli army, and the persecutions that led to the flight of thousands of Slavonian Christians, are scarcely known, or cease to present the picture of woe, that for years afflicted those unhappy countries: there is, however, a subject connected with them, which, even to this day, is interesting to Protestants, as it relates to the early reformers of the church, and to that link in the chain, which connects the simplicity of primitive doctrines with the present time.‡ This is the existence

* See above, Vol. I. p. 327., and Chapter IX. Appendini, i. p. 308.

† See the History of Dalmatia, in Chapter IX., A.D. 1433.

‡ See Faber's Vallenses, and Gilly's Vigilantius.

of the Paterenes; who were very numerous in Bosnia and Herzegóvina, during the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth, centuries.

The sect was founded by a certain Armenian Doctor, named Basil; who was burnt, for his opinions, by the Emperor Alexius Comnenus*; and whose followers, being banished, retired into Bulgaria, where they made many converts, and took the name of *Bogomili*, "chosen of God," or "implorers of God's mercy."† They thence spread their tenets into France, by means of pilgrims and traders, who were on their return to that country; and by degrees laid the seeds of doctrines, subsequently taken up by Peter Bruysius, and afterwards by Henry, and by Peter Valdo, the founder of the Valdenses, and by others in other places.‡ And "availing themselves of the various Caliphs' tolerance of all Christian sects, they carried their opinions, with their commerce, into Africa, Spain, and finally into Languedoc, a neighbouring province to Moorish Iberia; where Raymond, Count of Toulouse, gave them shelter"§ and protection.

* Farlati, vol. iv. p. 44.

† Farlati calls them "*Bougomili.*" *Bogomil* is from *Bog*, "God," and *milai*, "have mercy." Some of them are supposed, by Krasinski, to be found still among the dissenters of the Russian Church.

‡ Farlati, vol. iv. There was an older sect of Valdenses, or, Vallenses, who existed in the fourth century. See Faber's Vallenses and Albigenses, p. 272. 275. 279. 281., &c.; and Church in the Middle Ages, pp. 176. 201.

§ Napier's Florentine History, i. p. 183. See Sismondi's Littérature du Midi de l'Europe, vol. i. p. 204, 205.

They also received secret, and often direct, encouragement, from the Kings of Arragon and Castille; and those Paulicians, who were subjects of the Moslems, and had been protected by them in Spain, imitated the example of their Bulgarian brethren, in extending their doctrines into France; and though the greatest animosity was excited against them, in the northern parts of that country, the sect advanced rapidly in the southern provinces, particularly in those of Toulouse and Lyons; where they received the name of Albigenses, from the town of Albiga, or Alby.* They there obtained an almost exclusive influence; and their success is the more remarkable, as it was among a people, who were noted, in those days, for their advancement in knowledge and civilisation.† They also spread into Italy, where they received the name of Patereni; and it was either from Italy, or more probably from Bulgaria, that they passed into Bosnia.‡

Anna Comnena, who lived in 1080, says the sect of Bogomili was partly composed of Manichæans, who were called Paulicians; but the name of Manichæans was only affixed, by malice, to some of

* On the Tarn, in Languedoc, now Alby, or Albi. Farlati, by mistake, says, "Alba Augusta Helviorum," now Viviers, in the Vivarais.

† See Sismondi, vol. i. pp. 205. 219, 220. 229. 250, 251.

‡ Farlati, Episcopi Bosnenses, Illyricum Sacrum, vol. iv. pp. 44, 45.

the then "Protestant" communities, which already existed, under various appellations, in different countries; and the tale of crimes, she relates of them, is merely owing to a distorted view of their character, like the accusations launched against the early Christians by their Pagan adversaries.

The name of Paterenes, or Patereni, is supposed to have been taken from their "suffering;"* though some derive it from a quarter at Milan†, where it was first given to those priests, who, in the eleventh century, opposed the Papal ordinances against the marriage of the clergy; and in order to avoid the hateful name of Manichæans, which they complained was so frequently, and so unjustly, applied to them, they assumed that of *Cathari* ("Puritans"). And the fact of the name Manichæans being given to them, by their religious opponents and persecutors, as well as to the Paulicians, suffices to show that they, or their tenets, were from the same common origin with the followers, or the doctrines, of Constantine Sylvanus.‡

* Farlati, vol. iv. p. 45.

† There is still a street there called Contrada dei Pattari. It is more likely they would give their name to, than receive it from, the quarter of a town. See Muratori, Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi, vol. v. p. 83.; and Scriptores Rerum Italic., vol. iv. Sismondi, i. p. 204. The celibacy of the clergy had been objected to as early as the fourth century.

‡ The founder of the Paulicians in the seventh century. Their name was taken from their favourite apostle, whose Epistles were the peculiar study of Constantine and his

Those early "Protestants," who were joined by some converts from "the Gnostic sects, and especially" from "the Manichæans of Armenia,"* arose in the latter half of the seventh century; and were transplanted by Constantine Copronymus "from the banks of the Euphrates to Constantinople and Thrace." "By this emigration, their doctrines were introduced into Europe;" and, "in the tenth century, they were restored, and multiplied by a more powerful colony, which John Zimisces transported from the Chalybian hills to the vallies of Mount Hæmus."

"In the beginning of the thirteenth century, their pope, or primate, resided on the confines of Bulgaria, Croatia, and Dalmatia, and governed by his vicars the filial congregations of Italy and France;" but "it was in the country of the Albigenses, in the southern provinces of France, that the Paulicians were most deeply implanted;" and the tenets of their early reformation have been transmitted, through various sects, under the different denominations of Vallenses, Paulicians, Paterenes †,

followers. Some came to England in the reign of Henry II. Faber, 204.

* Gibbon, c. liv.

† Krasinski mentions a curious circumstance, which seems to be connected with the Paterenes in Servia, during the fourteenth century. "The Servian code of Dushan has, in its ninth article, the following provision: 'If a *half-believer* is found, who has secretly married a Christian, he must be baptized in the Christian manner; and if he refuses, his wife,

Cathari, Bogomili, Albigenses, Valdenses, Lollards, Bohemian brethren or Hussites, Lutherans, Calvinists, and other Protestants, to the present day. An unbroken line of adherents to the simple tenets of the primitive church was, indeed, kept up from the earliest period: they were, now and then, in great numbers; and when, to escape the cruel persecutions often directed against them, they retired to some secluded place of refuge, they continued to maintain their tenets, and came forth, at convenient seasons, to recal men to a purer view of their religion.*

The many cruelties inflicted upon them, till a late time, under the plea that their doctrines, and practices, were at variance with the principles of Christianity, were consistent with the intolerance of their religious enemies; who saw in them opponents capable of resisting their power, and ready to expose abuses, that had been introduced into the church; and the reason for ascribing to them the errors, and the name, of Manichæans, may be readily explained by the fact of many of them having been converted from Manichæism; and by some of the doctrines of the early Paterenes, and Paulicians, having been thought to accord with its speculations.

children, and property shall be taken from him, and he shall be reduced to misery;'" which *half-believers* he supposes to be the reformed Christians of those days.

* See Gilly's Vigilantius and his Times. The Nestorians ought also to be cited. See Grant.

One of their *supposed* dogmas was the belief in the two principles*; and some pretend that the Paterenes taught, that religion consisted in the exercises of a spiritual piety, and a virtuous life, and consequently that external devotional practices, and other ceremonies, were unnecessary. They certainly did maintain that the cross was, for the truly pious, nothing better than a piece of wood, and altars nothing better than stones; that all the ecclesiastical ordinances, and particularly indulgences, were inventions of priestly avarice; and that the memory of the apostles, and martyrs of the primitive church, might be honoured, but that the modern canonizations were only blasphemies.† "Images, pictures, relics, and the mediation of saints, were alike excluded from their faith; the only rule of which they asserted to be the simple expressions of the gospel‡;" and they "denied the sovereignty of the Pope, the power of the priests, the efficacy of prayers for the dead, and the existence of purgatory." §

In sects, composed of men, many of whom had been converted from a fanciful, and blind, rule of belief, it is reasonable to expect, that some of their tenets may have varied in many places, and at

* See Faber, pp. 110, 111.

† Geschichten der Ungern, und deren Landsassen, vol. ii.

‡ Napier's Florentine History, vol. i. p. 182.

§ Sismondi, i. p. 205. See Church in the Middle Ages, pp. 292. 483.

different times *, as well as their external habits and customs; still the object of the principal portion of their members was the same, and had for its object to purify Christianity, from the abuses of human innovations; which they felt that their religious opponents had derived from the superstitions of Pagan times.

Fessler, indeed, justly observes, that "in any revolutionary movement, whether of a religious, or a political, nature, uniformity is impossible; because, in such cases, an appeal being generally made to the private judgment of individuals, there must be individual opinion, contrary to, or at least differing from, that of others; and a kind of uniformity can only be obtained, when a strong party succeeds in imposing upon the rest its own doxy, or orthodoxy."

Such might also be offered as an apology for the Paulicians, and Paterenes; if their ideas were really what those have asserted, who ascribe to them peculiar speculations regarding the Godhead, the mode of divine incarnation, and the relation of the body (as matter) to the soul (as an emanation from the Deity); but it is evident, from the confession of faith by the Paulicians, or Albigenses, in the twelfth century, that their tenets were very similar to those of the modern Protestants †; and their chief aim was to follow the rules of the primitive church, and to adopt the gospel as their

* See the Church in the Middle Ages, p. 304.

† See Faber's Vallenses and Albigenses, pp. 222. 204.

sole guide, for practice and belief. They sought to avoid, and expose, the manifold corruptions, that had overlaid, and disfigured, the pure simplicity of Christianity; and "the favour and success of the Paulicians, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, must be imputed to the strong, though secret, discontent, which armed the most pious Christians against the Church of Rome." *

The Paterenes, having been admitted into Bosnia, received great encouragement from Kulin (Culin) in 1197, who was Ban of that country, under the *Suzerainté* of the King of Hungary. He was a man of great wisdom; and under him Bosnia became so flourishing, that long after his death, it was a proverbial saying, when any prosperous year occurred, "that the times of Kulin had come back." He belonged to that Greek Church, which acknowledged the supremacy of Rome; and having given protection to the Paterenes, who had been forced to take refuge in his country, he†, together with his wife, and Daniel, Bishop of Bosnia‡, soon afterwards embraced their doctrines.

* Gibbon, c. liv.

† Von Engel, in his History of Servia and Bosnia (p. 215.), says, "Not far from the town of Biach, even now a noble Turkish family of Beks exists, called Kuglienovichi (Culiniades), who have been reported, from time immemorial, to be descendants of the Ban Culin."

‡ Kulin had set up Daniel instead of Radigost, who had been appointed to the See by Bernardo, Archbishop of Ragusa; but this dispute was distinct from the question of Antivari,

The sect also spread into Dalmatia, particularly amongst the people of Spalato and Träù; where it was introduced by two celebrated artists and goldsmiths, named Matthew and Aristodius *, citizens of Zara, thoroughly acquainted with the Latin and Slavonic languages, pious and rich, and who, having often visited Bosnia, for their commercial affairs, brought thence the Paterene doctrines to Spalato, where they were secretly propagated.

Alarmed at their progress, Pope Innocent III., (who enjoys the unenviable notoriety, of having caused the most savage persecutions against the Paulicians of Italy, and the Albigenses of France †,) wrote to Emeric (or Henry) King of Hungary, exhorting him to expel all the Paterenes from Bosnia, and to command the Ban to repair to Rome, and account for his conduct; when Kulin immediately obeyed the order, and succeeded in satisfying the Pope, that he had always remained a faithful son of the church.

In the meantime, Bernardo, Archbishop of Spalato, persecuted the Paterenes in Dalmatia; he excommunicated the two artists, and confiscated

which was made independent of the Ragusan primate, and raised to an archbishopric by Pope Innocent III. through the intrigues of Velkan Nemagna, of Chelmo. See above, Vol. I. p. 302.; and Von Engel, Hist. Ragus., p. 88. Appendini, i. 273. Farlati, vi. 89.

* Thomas Archidiaconus, c. 24. Lucio, p. 332. says, "the sons of Zarobabel."

† Sismondi, i. 208.

their property; which they only recovered by abjuring their doctrines *; and obliged others to fly the country. These found a safe asylum in Bosnia; and Kulin, on his return from Rome, having persuaded the people, that the Pope had pronounced himself satisfied with his tenets, induced a great number more of them to join the Paterenes.

Velkan †, the brother of Stephen Ourosh, King of Servia, who had lately left the Greek, to join the Roman, church, in the hopes of ingratiating himself with the Holy See, and receiving the title of King of Dioclea, wrote to the Pope in 1199, informing him that the recantation of Kulin was insincere, that he encouraged the Paterenes still more avowedly than before, and that they had already made upwards of 10,000 new converts in Bosnia alone, through his assistance. The Pope therefore desired the King of Hungary again to order the Ban, to expel all the Paterenes, under pain of excommunication, and confiscation of his, as well as of their, goods, (A. D. 1200); and commanded Bernard to pronounce in his cathedral of Spalato, on every feast and holiday, a public interdict against Daniel, Bishop of Bosnia, for having harboured the heretics, who were expelled from Spalato and Träù.‡

* Thomas Archid., c. 24.

† Or Volkan Nemagna. See the History of Ragusa in Chapter V. Vol. I. p. 301.; and the Servian Kings, in Appendix C.

‡ There are now thirteen Protestants at Spalato, and three at Träù; but they are from Germany, and not descendants of Paterenes.

The execution of these orders was not so easy a matter, as the Pope imagined: the King saw the impossibility of suppressing by force a sect, which numbered so many adherents; and even the Archbishop of Spalato abstained from the ceremony of pronouncing excommunication against the refractory prelate. The King of Hungary, however, represented, in a friendly manner, to Kulin the danger of his position, and the prudent Ban began to act with more caution; but Bishop Daniel remained unmolested, and died in peace (1202).

After his death, the Papal legate, John of Casæmaria, arrived in Bosnia, from Servia, to try the effect of his eloquence "on the heretics;" when many of the Paterenes recanted; and some sought to retain, and secretly to propagate, their doctrines, under an outward conformity with the Roman Catholic church. Of these, the most remarkable were the monks of St. Basil, amongst whom the doctrines of the Paterenes had widely spread; but they were shortly afterwards gained over; and their superior, with the principal dignitaries of that order, assembled on the 8th of April, 1203, and swore in the presence of the Ban, the legate, and the Archdeacon of Ragusa, for themselves and their inferiors, to remain henceforward faithful, and obedient, to the ordinances of the Roman Catholic church.*

* See the oath in Farlati, iv. p. 46.

On the death of Kulin, Andrew, King of Hungary, gave the Banate of Bosnia to Zibislav; when the doctrines of the Paterenes being found still to revive in that country, Pope Honorius III. sent Acconcio, his legate, into Bosnia to suppress them, (1216—1222); but, so far from his presence having that effect, he was doomed to see the sect increase in power; and they elected a Pope, or Primate, of their own *, to preside over their whole flock, dispersed through Illyricum, Italy, and Gaul, as well as Slavonia, Dalmatia, Istria, and Carniola. Even Zara numbered many Paterenes †, among its nobles, and principal inhabitants; and the Archdeacon Thomas conveniently attributes the calamities, that happened to the city, from the siege by the Venetians, to the vengeance of offended Heaven for the crimes of the "heretics." The Paterenes also destroyed the cathedral, and town, of Crescevo, which from thenceforth ceased to be the see, and residence, of a Roman Catholic prelate; and Bosnia, at that time, became entirely subject to their influence.

In vain Pope Honorius III., and his successor Gregory IX., had recourse to persecution; and despite all the endeavours of the King of Hungary, and of the Ban Zibislav, they continued to increase; till at length a Roman Catholic bishop

* Farlati, iv. 47.

† Paterenes, or Manichæans, as Farlati calls them, vol. iv. p. 72.

was again appointed; for whom a cathedral was erected by Zibislav at Bosna, where Saraivo now stands, in lieu of that of Crescevo; and the Papal authority once more recovered itself in Bosnia, after having been, for a considerable period, completely crushed in that country (1238).

The efforts made by the new bishop, and the fear of Coloman, the brother of Bela, King of Hungary, checked for a moment the influence of the Paterenes; but the confusion that ensued, on the invasion of the Tartars, when Bela was forced to fly to Träù, gave them an opportunity of recovering themselves, until his return from Dalmatia. Soon after this (in 1246–7), they were again crushed by the Papal authority; some were destroyed by the arms of the Hungarian King; others were compelled to recant; and many fled to distant countries.

The accession of Mladino, to the Banate of Bosnia, (in 1302) gave them a fresh impulse; for, disregarding the strong admonition he received from Pope John XXII., he openly favoured them, and defied the authority of Rome (1319). But on his being deposed in 1322, and taken prisoner by the King of Hungary, Stephen Cotromanovich, his successor, declared himself against the Paterenes; and, at the instigation of the Pope, and of Charles Robert King of Hungary, proceeded to adopt violent measures for their suppression. Finding, however, that their party was too strong, he was under the neces-

sity of patronising, instead of persecuting, them; and still greater favour was shown them by the next Ban, his nephew Tuartko, who was of the Greek church.

They then continued to acquire much strength in Dalmatia, Rascia, and Albania, and particularly in Chelmo*; till, having made several converts at Knin, which was a place of great importance to the Kings of Hungary, who often held their court there, Louis felt it incumbent on him to interfere, and second the views of Nicolo, bishop of Knin, in driving them from his diocese (1345).

Great care was taken, at the same time, by Lampridius, Bishop of Träù, to prevent the introduction of their tenets into that city; and a proclamation was issued, that whoever should be found of the sect of Paterenes should be burnt alive, whether denounced by witnesses, or discovered through the confessional, or convicted on good evidence; and so rigidly was this enforced, that when a Bosnian army, composed principally of men of that persuasion, which had been sent, under the command of Ostoya and Bogdano, to besiege Clissa, passed through the Traurine territory, all intercourse was forbidden to the citizens with those soldiers; and when the Count and two other magistrates waited

* Or Zaculmia, part of what is now Herzegóvina. See above, p. 96., and Vol. I. p. 279. The Paterenes were also protected by Stephen Dushan, in the middle of the fourteenth century. See Farlati, vi. 450.

on the Bosnian generals, with provisions and presents, in order to induce them not to injure the country, as they passed through it, they were obliged to obtain absolution from the Archbishop of Spalato, for the infringement of the edict.*

An event soon afterwards occurred, which both parties looked upon, as a token of God's grace towards them. Many of the Paterenes had taken refuge †, during the various persecutions, in the mountains of Bosnia; and on the eve of St. Catherine, in 1367, a fire was seen to rage over the whole of the country they occupied, destroying every thing there, and leaving the mountains entirely denuded of wood; when the Roman Catholics considered it to be a manifest judgment from heaven against the wicked heretics, and the Paterenes, a proof of divine favour, the land being thereby cleared for them, and adapted for cultivation.

Injunctions were again repeated from the Pope to the bishops, and to Louis, King of Hungary, to do all in their power to extirpate the heretical Paterenes; they continued, nevertheless, to flourish, under the patronage of Tuartko (now King of Bosnia), until his death in 1392; and their cause made great progress, during the succeeding century. The disputes between Tuartko II. and Ostoya were also highly in their favour; Stephen Cosaccia,

* Farlati, vol. iv. p. 377.

† These were called "*Manazei*," according to Farlati, vol. iv. p. 61.

Duke of Santo Saba *, openly supported them; and they were joined, about the middle of the fifteenth century, by John Paulovich, whom Von Engel † calls hereditary Voivoda of Montenegro, and Count of Pópovo and Trebigne. Nor was the leaning towards them in Bosnia confined to the laity, or the inferior clergy; and four Bosnian bishops, who presented themselves at the council of Basle, in 1433, were rejected, on account of their refusal to disclaim the opinions of the Paterenes.

The interference of the Turks in Bosnia did not check the progress of the sect; and Joseph, the Bosnian bishop, in 1437, complained of the number of the Bosnian and Rascian heretics, and Hussites, who led people away from the Roman Catholic church; but Stephen, King of Bosnia, having ordered all Paterenes to leave his country, or abjure their doctrines, their cause received a severe shock there; and 40,000 were obliged to take refuge in Herzegóvina, where they were welcomed by Stephen Cosaccia (1459).

From that period little more is known about them, in those parts of Europe. Other reformers, however, arose in other places; to continue their persevering efforts, to maintain the tenets of the primitive Christians, and to prove that there should never

* Or Herzegóvina.

† Von Engel's History of Servia and Bosnia, p. 402. See above, Vol. I. p. 478.

be wanting a "witness" to maintain the gospel doctrines, in their unperverted sense, and the original purity of the two first centuries of Christianity.*

On the way to Blagai, we passed some of the usual tumuli; one of which was of earth, with a large slab on the top. Our road lay to the east of the Narenta, under the hills that border the plain on that side. Several springs issue from them, which might be made available for irrigation; and half a mile from Blagai is the small river Gnoinitze, with a village of the same name, which runs into the Boona. We crossed it by a stone bridge, and soon afterwards reached Blagai, a straggling village on the Boona, about six miles from Mostar. The crumbling walls of a church, and a half-ruined mosk, are its principal public buildings. Of the former, which was once converted into a khan, nothing now remains but the walls; and at one end is a small rosette window.

The old town of Blagai stood a short distance to the north, where a few houses still mark its site. Traversing the village, we followed the banks of the Boona to its source, where, at the base of lofty cliffs, is a cavern, about five or six feet high, and fifteen feet broad at its mouth, from which it issues. The stream is copious and strong, and on leaving the cavern, at once assumes the importance of a river. It bears some resemblance to Vaucluse, but the water is in a larger body. On the bank, beneath

* See Faber, p. 260.

the rocks, is a kiosk, shaded by walnut, and *loto*, trees; a pleasant retreat in summer, much frequented by the Vizir. One chamber is set apart for women; which is provided with lattice windows to protect them from without, and is dedicated to a Moslem *Santon*, to ensure their safety within. Above, in the precipitous face of the rock, is a small cave, with some remains of brickwork at its mouth; which is *said* to have communicated, in old times, with the castle above.

This castle was the stronghold, that gave its name to Blagai. It stands on the summit of the high craggy hill; and though not of any great size, was strong from its position, in those early days.

At the village of Blagai is a bridge of five arches; and this, with the remains of baths, and other buildings, shows that, even in later Turkish times, it was of more importance than at present. It still has the honour of possessing a Cadi of distinction, who lives in a good house "at the west end," near the river.

From Blagai, across the plain to Boona, is a ride of one hour. The Vizir's villa stands at the confluence of the Boona and Narenta. Over the former is a bridge of fourteen arches, not far from which it is joined by the Boonitza.

The palace is still unfinished. Though not remarkable for its architecture, it has the advantage of an excellent position, and will be much improved, when the plantations grow up, surrounded

as it is by running streams, and mountain scenery. A nursery ground has been established there of several thousand trees, mostly mulberries and olives; and below the garden, in front of the palace, is an artificial waterfall, whose murmuring sounds are very agreeable in the midday heat.

At Boona are some tombs of the proscribed Janissaries. The turbans have been struck off, as at Constantinople. This was done by order of Sultan Mahmood; who, not contented with the destruction of that insolent body, extended his vengeance to their graves.

From Boona to Mostar is about six miles. On the road are some Christian tombs, of late time. One has an ornamented cross, with the zigzag moulding, common in those of earlier date, and the year 1717 in Servian characters.

I went, next day, to take leave of the Vizir. His first question was what I thought of his villa; and, on my saying how much I had been pleased with it, he answered, "I fear you praise it, because you think you are bound to do so, out of politeness." But on my assuring him that the English were not in the habit of saying what they did not mean, he expressed a hope that I might pay him another visit, when he was living there, and enjoy the pipe of welcome in his garden by the river side. He then talked much of England, and lauded our skill in manufactures, as the Turks often think it right to do, not so much out of compliment to any ac-

knowledged merit in us, as from pride in their own superiority over the manufacturing race of Franks; and he concluded by reminding me of my promise, to write to the Vladika.

During this interview, his son, Hadji Rizvan Bek, came in, who, with the respect always shown to parents by Orientals, continued standing the whole time, in the presence of his father, with his hands crossed before him. On rising to go, the Vizir assured me that my visit had been most welcome, and that if any of my friends were coming to Mostar, they should be well received.

On leaving Mostar, we returned by the lower road, along the right bank of the Narenta, from which the water had now retired in most places. Entering the narrow valley opposite Boona, we passed, in one hour and a half, Zitkomicich, on the left bank, famed for its large oak tree, and soon afterwards came to two old tombstones. One was in the form of a cross; the other of the usual sarcophagus shape, having a border of arabesque pattern, and the rope moulding, with rude sculptures of men on horseback, chasing a stag; and at one end were four figures, holding hands, in appearance and scale of art, very like the women that children cut out in paper.

No part of the Narenta below Mostar can be said to possess any scenery, except that between Boona and Pogitel, which is wild and solitary; and the only village on the right bank is Krusevich, which

may be said to consist of a villa belonging to the Vizir's Kehia (deputy). The journey from Mostar by this road is certainly far more agreeable, than by the mountain track we took in going; and besides the satisfaction of looking upon wooded hills, overhanging the winding course of the river, we were glad to find it was so much shorter. We, therefore, reached Chaplina early in the evening, where we slept at the house of a wealthy Turk, who provided us with an excellent supper, though neither he, nor his Moslem friends, would eat with us "infidels." I cannot say I was sorry, as the friendly attentions of kind hosts, at a supper carved with the fingers, are not always agreeable; and it is much better to pull the viands to pieces with one's own fingers, than to receive choice morsels from the hand of a neighbour.

The room was cushioned and carpeted to softness, and an immense fire nearly suffocated us. Thick divans bordered the sides and one end, leaving a comparatively small area in the middle, where a mass of cross-legged individuals, pipes in chevaux-de-frise, cats, and coffee-cups, filled up all the vacant space. I never saw so many cushions, in so small a locality: at every turn some soft substance obtruded itself: the gods themselves, represented on clouds, could not have appeared to repose more softly; and I should certainly have had a vision of feather-beds in my sleep, had this not been effectually prevented by the cat and her kit-

tens nestling upon me, and by the minute population that inhabited the bed.

Next morning, having dismissed the horses, I crossed the river, and went to see the bridge over the Bregava, a small stream that comes from the mountains beyond Stolatz, and falls into the Narenta, nearly opposite Strúké. This bridge is evidently copied from that of Mostar; but it is much smaller, being only fifty feet in span, and about twenty-five from the water in summer, or to the top of the parapet thirty feet. The breadth of the road over it is fourteen feet six inches, and it rises in the centre. The parapet is of slabs placed upright, as at Mostar, with the same kind of torus under it; and on one side is the date 1079 A. H., answering to 1651 A. D., eight years earlier than that on the Mostar bridge, but evidently in the same reign of Sultan Mohammed.

It is approached by a paved road; but there is no village near it, and the south side abuts against the hill, where the road turns off abruptly to the right. On a height, about a quarter of a mile to the westward, is a small round tower, that once guarded the road, and commanded the passage of the river.

Taking a boat from Chaplina, we were carried in an hour to the Bazaar of Unka; where being met by the chief of the Health Office, I was allowed to go to Metcovich, and pass my quarantine of five

days in the house of the Vice-Sindaco, under the surveillance of a *guardiano*.

Fêtes were still going on at Metcovich. The quantity of time consumed in them, by the Morlacchi, is a decided injury to the country, and to industry; and to such an extreme do they carry their fondness for holidays, that of the eight months from March to November, fifty days are occupied in useless festivities; so that, with Sundays, ten days are lost every month; and an instance occurred, in the autumn I was in Dalmatia, of one day only in a whole week being left for work. The fault is in the ignorant Morlacchi priests, who encourage the idleness and fanaticism of the peasantry; and neither the interference of the government, nor the representations of the Pope, who has clearly indicated what days are to be kept as fêtes, have been able to stop the abuse.

It is sometimes difficult to distinguish the Morlacchi, from the Turks of the neighbouring provinces, many of their costumes being very similar; and I met one at Metcovich, who had strayed across the border, on a love adventure, who might easily have passed for a Dalmatian, innocent of the Koran. He was a great favourite with the women of Narenta, who admired, and chatted most familiarly with, the handsome Moslem; and many a Morlacco may have had reason to be jealous of his success. Indeed, it has often happened that, neither their knowledge of Turkish customs, the confinement they are to be

subject to, the fact of the attentions (rather than affections) of a Moslem being divided, nor the necessary change of religion, have sufficed to deter Dalmatian women from marriages with Turks; and many have left their country and their homes, despite the entreaties of their parents, to undergo the humiliating treatment of a *hareem*. This even occurred at a time when the Turks were at war with the Venetians, and were inflicting numerous calamities on the Dalmatian peasantry; of which a remarkable instance is recorded, in the Reports of the Rettori, to the Government of Venice.*

* See the story "Adelino," in the History, A.D. 1574; Chapter IX.

CHAP. VIII.

Departure from the Valley of the Narenta for Vergoraz. — Imoschi. — Customs and Superstitions of the Morlacchi. — Old Christian Tombs, with the Crescent and Star. — The Poglizzans. — Almissa. — Return to Spalato. — Remarks on the Slavonians.

MY quarantine being over, I left Metcovich for Vergoraz and Imoschi. The road passed by Vido; where having swum our horses over the stream of the Norino, and once more ransacked the village, in quest of inscriptions and remains of Narona, we ascended the hills to the north-west. On the point of one of these is a tumulus of heaped stones, called by the people *Zadroosbina* *, answering to "ex voto," from having been raised, in compliance with a vow, made by the friends of the deceased. On the other side of the hills is the village of Novasella †, and before the descent to it, is a fine view of the picturesque Turkish town of Gliubuski, the distant Velleg, and other mountain ranges.

* Literally, "for friendship."

† "New Village." Selo answers to "Village," as Dobrosko-selo," "Tzarsko," or "Czarsko-selo," &c. The Italians change it into "Sella."

Gliubuski stands at the side, and extremity, of a rocky ridge of hills; the houses are interspersed with gardens, and commanded, or protected by a citadel, crowning the heights above; and in the plain below is the river Trebisat, which runs into the Narenta at Strúké, in Herzegóvina. Gliubuski is one of the most thriving towns of Herzegóvina, and is about four or five miles from the Dalmatian frontier.

A winding road, through arbutus and other bushes, brought us to Novasella; and we soon afterwards joined the high road, running in a long tedious line to the small lake of Yesaratz. This road is called "Strada Napoleone," having been made by the French, during their occupation of Dalmatia. It is well constructed, of great breadth, and very similar to the French military roads in other countries; and is a portion of that, which extends from Spalato to Sign, and thence to Trigl, Graboaz, Xuppa, and Vergoraz, and which, after crossing the plain of the Narenta, goes to Imotizza, Ragusa, and Cattaro.

The lake of Yesaratz is remarkable for its great rise and fall; and it is evident, from the mark on its hilly banks, that the water is often fifty feet higher than when I saw it in November. It sometimes reaches, and even overflows, the road, which is about one-third of a mile off, without any apparent cause for this phenomenon, neither being fed by any river, nor by torrents running from

lofty surrounding mountains. It is also on a higher level, than the other lakes, in the neighbouring plain of the Trebisat. The name Yesaratz, the diminutive of Yesaro *, distinguishes it from the larger lake of that name, near Prolog; and both these, like the many others met with in Dalmatia, offer a curious subject of inquiry for the geologist.

At Prolog, or Pod-prolog are some old tombs, doubtless of the same time as those beyond Imoschi, which I suppose to be of the Christians before the fifteenth century: some, as usual, are slabs placed flat on the ground, others of a stunted sarcophagus shape; and one is said to have borne a Slavonic inscription, which for some, or no, reason, was destroyed by an ignorant priest, in 1828;—a piece of Vandalism, which had the good effect of eliciting an order from the Emperor of Austria, that all monuments should, for the future, be preserved throughout the country.

The name Prolog †, signifies a "defile;" and the position of the place, above the deep *Yesaro*, which is surrounded by lofty hills, is remarkable; but the most interesting object is the Yesaro itself. Fortis says that, "in some parts of it the ruins of houses are seen at the bottom;" a report which does not, however, appear to rest on any good authority; and "one outlet exists towards the south, where it falls into the cavern of Czernivir;

* Or Yezero.

† Pod-prolog, or Pod-prologh, "under the defile."

and, as the people of the country say, after running two miles under ground, it forms the lake of Desna, and then falls into the Canal-nero, which unites with the Narenta two miles from the sea."*

Following the winding road, beneath the range of hills to our left, overlooking the plain of Gliubuski, we reached Vergoraz †, in little more than an hour from Prolog, and seven hours from Vido. The *Sindaco* of Vergoraz, (who possesses a larger house than is usually found in the towns of the interior,) did his best to make us comfortable; but notwithstanding the wine he freely imbibed himself, and pressed upon his guests with due regard to hospitality, the conversation was confined to subjects of little interest, relating chiefly to the names, deeds, and families of individuals, known only to two of the party. It was therefore a great relief, when the arrival of a man was announced, who had lately fled from Turkey, after killing his Moslem master; and whose tale gave a fresh subject of conversation.

He was a Christian peasant of Herzegóvina; and had long been maltreated by the Turk, who at last threatened to shoot him; and as he levelled his gun for this purpose, the peasant drew forth his pistol, and killed his oppressor on the spot. He immediately fled into the Austrian states; where, being apprehended, at the instigation of the Turkish authorities, he was tried for murder. But the

* Fortis, p. 306. † Pronounced Vergoratz.

circumstances of the case being fully proved, he was acquitted on the plea of self-defence; and to the honour of the Austrians, who certainly act, on these occasions, with justice and impartiality, he was not given up to the reiterated demands of the Turkish authorities. Had he fallen into the hands of the Turks, no plea of self-defence would have availed him; the fact of a Christian having shed the blood of a "true believer" would have been sufficient to condemn him; as no sense of justice can save a Christian, who kills a Turk. Nor is a Christian testimony of any weight in a Cadi's court, against that of a Moslem; and woe to the Europeans settled, or travelling in Turkey, if their governments should be induced, with a view of saving themselves trouble, or through a complacent reliance on the civilisation of the Turks, to deliver their subjects to the tender mercies of Moslem law.

Vergoraz is a small place. Many of the houses are thatched, others are roofed with flat stones, and some few are tiled. On a rock above is a ruined Turkish castle, overgrown with ivy. It was built in the days of terror; when the conquering Turks were spreading conquest, and desolation, over many Christian countries, and Dalmatia was trembling for its liberty, and its faith. But its crumbling walls proclaim the immunity, that has long since been enjoyed by the inhabitants of Vergoraz, from the Turkish yoke, as well as the credit due to the Venetians, for their successful opposition to the

Porte*; and it stands a satisfactory memorial of the triumph of Christian over Moslem power; a still more singular proof of which is seen, in the conversion of a minaret into the belfry of the church below.

The position of Vergoraz had always been one of great importance to the Turks, being placed in a pass, upon the ridge of hills that separate the valley of Gliubuski from that of Xuppa; and, in the hands of the Venetians, it became the key of Dalmatia, on that side.

Till lately, a market was held for the sale of Turkish and Dalmatian goods, at Bazaro di Maovaz †; which is now given up, as are many others on the Dalmatian frontier; the trade with Turkey being greatly diminished, or thrown into other channels.

Between Vergoraz, and Bazaro di Maovaz, is a large lake, dry in summer, during which season the road to Gliubuski crosses its bed; for, unlike the Yesari, it is merely caused by rains, and the overflow of winter streams.

After bidding adieu to the Vice-Sindaco, who had accompanied me from Metcovich, I took the road to Xuppa, which runs along the side of the hills, beneath the lofty peak of Metóket. On our left was a rapid descent, partially cultivated; and at the bottom, a rocky hollow basin, frequently filled

* See the History, A.D. 1687.

† Or Maovacz, pronounced Maovatz

with water, that runs down from the surrounding heights. The view looking back to Vergoraz, with its ruined castle perched on the rocks above, and Gliubuski in the distance, was very pretty; and as the vale opened in front, having the precipitous mountain cliffs to the right, the ravine below to the left clothed with arbutus, myrtle, and juniper, and the distant mountain peaks beyond, I felt persuaded that many a glen has acquired celebrity, through local prejudice, re-echoed by poetry and romance, without half the beauties of that of Xuppa.

Near the villages of Kokoris and Ravta are some cisterns in the rock, for holding rain water, which are not uncommon in Dalmatia. The sheep in this part of the country are very small, like those of Tzetinie in Montenegro, hardy, and adapted to the crags, amidst which they feed.

Though the middle of November had passed, the sun was still powerful, and a great contrast to the cool, or even chilliness, of the shade; but this valley enjoys a very small portion of its rays, or warmth, in winter, since in November it sets to the people of Xuppa at half past three, and only appears next day about eight o'clock. It is in the early morning that the aspect of this valley is most striking, when the indistinct grey mist, the broad deep shades, and the gilded summits of the mountains, give a grand effect to its wild scenery; and the point from which it is seen to the best ad-

vantage, is the ascent to the pass of Touria, at its northern extremity.

The villages in the valley of Xuppa are generally scattered over a large space, as in other parts of Dalmatia; but the church of Ravta is further from its congregation, and the houses more distant from each other, than in any I have met with; some portions of the village being at least a mile apart. The custom of building them in this scattered manner is quite Slavonian, and the same has been observed in Servia, where villages, consisting only of "forty or fifty houses, spread over a space as extensive as that occupied by Vienna and its suburbs, the dwellings being isolated, and at a distance one from another." *

A short way beyond Ravta are some of the curious old tombs, already mentioned; on which I observed the crescent, and star, or rosette, with rude sculptures of stags and birds, a sword and shield. One is of the usual scarcophagus form, measuring 4 ft. 6 in. high, 4 ft. 4 in. long, and 2 ft. 3 in. broad; the others are merely slabs placed flat on the ground. After passing the lofty Metóket, and Mióvia, to the right, about seven miles from Vergoraz, a road branches off to the left, and runs over the hills to Macarska; and at the village of Kozitze, three miles further, are some tumuli. On approaching Xuppa, the craggy and uneven surface of the valley recals some parts of Montenegro;

* Ranke's Servia.

and the small hollows, where soil has accumulated or been preserved from the sweeping effects of the winter torrents, are cultivated in the same manner, as in that wild country.

A ride of five hours from Vergoraz brought us to the house of the *Parocco* of the village. The priest, or *pópé*, was absent himself; but as I had a letter for him, I presented it and myself to his housekeeper, and explained its contents. In order to communicate the necessary intelligence on this, as well as on other, points, I called forth my stock of Slavonic, doubtless to the amusement of those who listened to my orations in that language. However, I obtained all that was required, and having been installed in the Parocco's dormitory, library, or drawing-room (for it answered all those purposes), I was entertained with every demonstration of welcome and hospitality.

The house was soon filled with visiters, curious to see a live Englishman; and had it not been for the odious habit they have, of making spitting part of their conversation, I might have been as much pleased with their visit, as they seemed to be with mine. But the Morlacchi, like the Montenegrins, may vie with the Americans in this odious practice; and their custom of abstaining from ablutions renders their near approach by no means desirable. I therefore sought for some expedient to rid myself of their friendly visit; and under pretence of seeking some one, who could speak Italian, I managed

to disperse the hircose individuals, while I entertained those who remained, by sketching the village; which, being an out-of-doors occupation, was less affected by their presence. Fortunately, the novelty of my appearance began to wear off, before I had finished my drawing, and as soon as they found I was introducing some of their own figures into it, old and young hastened away, and I was left to return home without further molestation.

In the meanwhile, the pópé's housekeeper had killed, plucked, and cooked the fowls destined for my supper; and however much I preferred solitude among the Morlacchi, I must say that on this, as on all other occasions, I met with every civility from them, whenever I required their friendly offices.

The houses of Xuppa may be styled huts; they are mostly thatched; but that of the Parocco rises in great splendour amidst its humble companions, being well built, covered with tiles, and furnished with a tank to receive the rain water, which is conveyed to it by pipes from the roof.

With many benedictions from the worthy housekeeper, I started next morning for Imoschi, and in half an hour reached the ascent of the pass; the summit of which is about two miles from Xuppa. On the way we passed the village of Touria, where I observed two of the old tombs, apparently with the crescent and the cross rudely sculptured upon them, and soon afterwards the ruins of some bar-

racks, built by the French. They stand a little to the left of the fine military road, that climbs the ascent, and renders this once difficult pass of easy access; but it seems that the engineers who made them, had much better notions of constructing roads, than of selecting a spot for human habitations, the ground being so alive with land-springs, that fever could not fail to convert the barracks into the hospital, or the tomb, of the soldiers stationed within. The Austrians have therefore wisely left the buildings to fall to ruin, whilst they keep the road in good repair; and so highly do they appreciate its utility, that they have indirectly taken to themselves the merit of this grand work, by erasing the inscription that recorded its construction by the French. Notwithstanding this precaution, it has retained the name of "Strada Napoleone," and the Dalmatians have reason to thank the French for the means of communication, previously unknown, in their country; while many are unsophisticated enough to imagine that it was made for *their* use, little knowing the object of a military road.

From the summit of the pass is the view before mentioned, looking back over the Vale of Xuppa; and from this point the road winds through rocky hills and hollows, still more like some of the wild districts of Montenegro. The trees are mostly oak and ash: the rocks limestone. Above the hills to the westward appears the peak of the lofty Biócovo,

which is 5899 feet above the sea. On its summit is a small chapel, erected in 1580, and dedicated to St. George; to which pilgrims frequently pay a votive visit, in the hopes of expiating their sins, by a walk of three hours up its rugged side. From the time it is first seen, after leaving Vergoraz, when it terminates the view over the extremity of the Vale of Xuppa, this mountain continues to be a conspicuous object, until you leave it far behind to the south, and arrive at Spalato; and its conical peak is the same that is seen from the plain of Bielotich, on the road to Mostar.

A few miles beyond the pass, the road to Imoschi turns off to the right, at the church of Zagosd, leaving the Strada Napoleone, which runs on to the north. This branch road was made, or enlarged, by the Austrians, about eighteen years ago; and though the ascent is too abrupt, it is preferable to the rough paths, that cross these hills from Vergoraz, or from Xuppa, to Slivno, which require a good guide, and strong mountain horses. Nor is there any thing to compensate for the difficulties of that journey, except one of those remarkable geological phenomena called *Yesari*, near Slivno, and traces of the old Roman road, which is again met with near Runovich, in the Valley of Imoschi. At Graboaz, too, a little to the north of Zagosd, the lovers of the marvellous speak of a curious hill, called Yastrap, about 500 feet in circumference, surrounded by walls in terraces, which

is said to have been the abode of San Girolamo (St. Jerome), and is looked upon with suitable wonder and respect.

While traversing the hills, that separate the Valley of Zagosd from that of Imoschi, I was surprised by meeting a cavalcade of gaily dressed men, whose novel appearance at once convinced my guide, that some of the authorities were escorting a foreigner of distinction, who was emulating the King of Saxony's recent visit to Dalmatia; and it was not till our arrival at Imoschi, that the exalted rank of the principal person collapsed into a sort of serjeant of police, lionizing some friends, in the full bloom of authority, which thought to display itself in the vulgarity of gold embroidery, and the finery of Turkish saddles.

It is often amusing to witness the freaks of those petty officials, big with importance, before the astonished and simple-minded peasants; who see, in the dress and insignia of office, a sort of emanation from Austrian imperial-royal majesty, and believe that the power of the *employé* is in direct proportion to the consequence he assumes. But, as may be supposed, the good they do is in the inverse ratio of their presumption; and none are greater enemies to the poor, or more cringing to their superiors, than the conceited "bureaucrate," who holds some insignificant post in an out-of-the-way district.

Through the centre of the plain, below Imoschi,

runs the river Verlicca *, which is crossed by a long low bridge of many arches, terminating at one end in a mill.

An old tower, that once defended the passage of the stream, now forms part of the miller's premises; and its picturesque effect is not diminished by the historical tales attached to it, having been an important outpost, during the wars with the Turks, when they held the castle of Imoschi. The plain is rich, and of considerable extent, about nine miles by two, or three in the broadest part; and only requires proper drainage, to render it highly productive. The hay, though coarse, is better than in most parts of Dalmatia, where indeed it is neither abundant, nor of good quality; but improvements in agriculture have not reached Imoschi, and they have the same kind of plough and bush-harrow, and the same mode of cultivation, in this plain as in that of Mostar.

At the foot of the hills, before you ascend to the town of Imoschi, is a Greek church, and near it a mill, turned by a stream, that issues from what is called the "*Red Yesaro*," at a particular time of the year, and is one of the most singular phenomena of the country. Until the middle of November this stream is not in existence, its bed is perfectly dry, and the mill is stopped; when suddenly, about the 15th of that month, its bed is filled with water, the mill is in operation, and the

* Or Verlikka.

course of the water continues to be uninterrupted till the following summer. At that time, the level of its reservoir, the Yesaro, is found to diminish, and the subterraneous channel, by which it is fed, ceasing to supply any more water, the stream again disappears; and the same is repeated every succeeding year.*

Imoschi stands on the slope of the hills, and from the houses being interspersed with gardens, it has still a little of the character of a Moslem town; though only one house remains of the old Turkish village, which was of very limited size. Imoschi was then merely a military post, with a few houses dependent upon the castle; which is now a ruin. It contains about 950 inhabitants, of whom 100 are of the Greek church, and out of 23,500 souls, the population of the whole district, 800 are Greeks. Its size would only claim for it the title of village, did not the fact of its being the residence of a *pretore* give it the rank of a town; an honour it obtained in 1820.

It stands high, and is cold in winter, being about 1378 feet above the sea, and much exposed to the wind; and though the houses are well built, and of stone, the rooms are not well protected from cold, the floors consisting of single planks, with abundant space between each, to admit a stream of wind from below; besides which, the doors and windows are numerous, and fireplaces or stoves

* See below, p. 143.

YESARO OF IMOSCHI.

and the Mountains of Herzegovina in the distance.

unknown. The snow, too, lies for a considerable time on the ground, and the wind sweeps over it from the N. and N.E. February is the coldest part of the year, and the Bora blows frequently during the winter months.

The roofs of the houses are of stone tiles, like many at Mostar; which they have a strange custom of white-washing, giving them so wintry an appearance, that in looking out of window, on a cold morning, any one might imagine they were covered with snow; but the custom does not contribute to their ornament; nor is its utility evident, as the heat of the sun is never sufficient to justify such an anomaly.

There is a small inn — nothing in Dalmatia having yet arrived at the mature growth of an hotel — and though in a very primitive condition, I preferred it to better quarters with a private family, where the wish to accommodate a stranger often seriously incommodes the inmates. For the Dalmatians are very hospitable, and however great the inconvenience to themselves, do all in their power to consult the comfort of their guest; but it is far from agreeable to deprive the host of his bed-room, and to feel that the whole household is deranged by one's visit; and as they are far from rich, some really suffer for their hospitable efforts. Those, too, who are least able to afford it, are often the most liberal, in their mode of entertaining a visiter; and I generally found that the wealthier the indi-

vidual, the less was he disposed to be hospitable; men who have amassed much money being often little inclined to part with it; from their habits of acquiring being opposed to those of spending.

Imoschi has a bazaar every Wednesday and Saturday, which is frequented by Turks, or at least by Christian subjects of Turkey. They take manufactures, wine, brandy, and some other articles, but no salt, the bazaar of Unka being the place where that is principally supplied; and they bring, for sale, horses, grain, butter, cheese, cattle, goats, sheep, and "the abomination" of the Moslem, pigs.

Other articles supplied by the Turks, at some of the bazaars, are looked upon with more interest by "Young Dalmatia;" among which are jessamine and cherry sticks, for pipes, the latter known by the name of *Antipo* wood; both which are sold at a most moderate price. Another kind of wood, called *Spin Sagrinato*, is chiefly brought by the Morlacchi. It is very rare, and being only found in the fissures of limestone rocks, in Dalmatia, is greatly valued, and sold at a high price; and such is said to be the difficulty of obtaining it, that they are often obliged to shoot it down with ball, from its growing in inaccessible positions. It has a dark, rough bark, and from its appearance has received the name of "*chagrined thorn.*"

Persons coming from Turkey into Dalmatia are accommodated at Imoschi with a Lazaretto, and suffer the usual imprisonment of quarantine.

The castle is said to have belonged in old times to Herzog Stephen of Santo Saba; and a stone was found in one of the walls with an inscription recording its restoration by Lubomir *, who is supposed to have been a Bosnian prince, before the Turkish invasion; though some pretend that it was built by the Spaniards, when in alliance with Venice. Another stone still remains in the wall, on the west side, with the letters M · V · I, probably initials, which it is not easy to explain. It is of different dates, with some additions of Venetian time.

One part stands over the precipitous cliffs of the *Yesaro* (or lake), an abyss of 600 feet in depth; and it was here that the Venetians enjoyed the cruel sport, of witnessing the almost hopeless effort of their prisoners to save their lives; who, when condemned to death, were taken to the top of the wall, and promised a pardon, if, in leaping upon a small projecting rock, about twenty-five feet below, they could check their downward course, and stop there. Many spurned this mockery of mercy; and whenever any one clung to the hope of success, it was only to afford his tormentors the entertainment of seeing his attempt, and failure; for few were known to succeed; and toppling over

* (H)ANC AOLAM LUBOMIR
RESTAURAT ET ORNAT
EJUS PRECEPTOR NEC
NON QUE·····

the narrow point of rock, they went, one after the other, headlong into the depths below, striking here and there a projecting crag, only to be hurled onward from it with increasing rapidity.

There is a small church, at the entrance of the castle, with the date 1709; and at the corner of the passage, leading to the staircase of the court, is a round tower, built like the rest on the rock, near which is an unbroken piece of wall, *supposed* to conceal the arms of the Turks. The whole castle is about forty-eight paces in length, of irregular plan, adapted to the form of the rocks; and though inaccessible on the side of the Yesaro, would be incapable of long resistance in modern times; being commanded by the hills on the S.E. This accounts for its speedy capture, by the Venetians; and no sooner had the force, sent to its relief from Gliubuski, been defeated by Mocenigo, than the garrison surrendered, on condition of being allowed to leave the place with the honours of war. This is said to have happened in 1717; but it is evident, from the above inscription, that its capture dates several years earlier; or that it was retaken by the Turks, who were finally expelled by Mocenigo.

The tradition of its capture, preserved at Imoschi does not clear up the doubt. They relate that a party of eighty persons, headed by a monk, the Frate Koumbat, and by George Veich, obtained possession of the castle by stratagem. In order

to make the Turks suppose a large force was advancing against it, they lighted numerous fires at night on the hills of Grab *, on the other side of the plain, when the garrison, fearing their retreat would be cut off, abandoned it before the morning, carrying with them whatever they could remove, and throwing the rest into the lake.

Its possession was confirmed to the Venetians by the treaty of Passarovitz; but, in the course of time, it ceased to be garrisoned, and is now a ruin.

The *Yesaro*, or lake, is a natural sinking of the rocky mountain surface, like that in Malta called "the Devil's punch-bowl," and others in similar limestone formations, where a border of precipitous cliffs surrounds a low piece of ground, which is either cultivable soil, or covered with water. This lake is called the "*Yesaro grande*," being much larger than the others in the neighbourhood. It measures about 8098 feet in length, and 2678 in breadth, and is of irregular, or nearly semicircular shape, and surrounded by almost perpendicular cliffs. Its depth is 560 feet to the water's surface, or 623 to the bottom of the lake, where, when dry in summer, are seen many a cannon ball, fired against the castle in by-gone days. In the steep sides are some caverns, one of which is generally occupied by goats, during the heat of a summer's day; or is, occasionally, the resort of wolves, and eagles, in winter; and, indeed, on approaching it, I

* This word, so like our own, means "grave."

started two eagles, which were feeding on the bodies of wolves, lately killed in the neighbourhood, and thrown down upon a ledge before the mouth of the cavern.

Owing to the slope of the hills, on the western side, towards the plain, the cliffs of the Yesaro are lower in that part; but even there they are two or three hundred feet high; and it is difficult to believe the assertion of the people of Imoschi, "that the water rose about eighty years ago, and ran over them to the plain below;" though the height, to which some of these lakes are known to rise, is very extraordinary: a phenomenon only accounted for, in the same manner as the sudden disappearance of several streams in Dalmatia, by attributing it to the subterraneous communications that exist in the limestone strata.

Heavy rain does not appear to have any immediate effect upon the lakes; but the long prevalence of the *Bora*, or north-east wind, is generally followed by a rise of the water, and the quantity in the second, or "red *Yesaro*" of Imoschi, is not very much reduced even in summer. In size this is considerably smaller than the *Yesaro grande*, having a diameter of 1248 feet; and it is distinguished from it, and from the others, by the appellation of "*Yesaro rosso*," from the *redness* of its rocks. It is more circular in shape, and its sides, which measure about 500 feet in height from the water's edge, are much more precipitous. The

water, too, is *said* never to have been fathomed. Here and there, between the crags at its sides, grow several small bushes, which the natives, scrambling down at the risk of their lives, cut for firewood; and it is curious to watch them, as they emerge from this mountain well, with bundles of faggots on their backs, and to listen, while the loosened stone, that occasionally rolls from beneath their feet, bounds from rock to rock, till it splashes in the deep water below.

It is this Yesaro that supplies the water of the stream, near the Greek church, during the winter months, which the people think an inexplicable phenomenon.* But, on examining the strata, it appears that the discharge of the water, at a certain period of the year, may be explained, by their dipping to the westward at a very great angle; so that when the water rises to a certain height, it finds an exit through the strata to the base of the hills; where it runs off, and forms the little river in the plain below.

In this *Yesaro* are some fish, called "*glavitza*" (*glaviza*), said to be very rare; but not being able to procure one, I do not know to what species they belong. Another kind of *glavitza* is found at the springs of the lake of Ottok in the plain, (even though that lake is dry in summer,) which the peasants catch by a sort of trap, consisting of a low wall built round the spring-head, with an

* See above, p. 136.

aperture on one side, covered with a net. The same fish are also found in the land-*springs* of *Krénitze.**

The other *Yesari* are very similar to these two, though mostly smaller in size and depth, and it is said that there are as many as fifty, in various parts of the country. At the north end of the plain of Imoschi is a lake of considerable size, called Proloxaz †, which may be seen from the town. In former times it was much smaller, and its increase is said to have been owing to a stratagem of the monks, who inhabited a convent on the end of the peninsula, that projected into the lake. Finding themselves exposed to disagreeable visits from the Turks, they determined to cut off all communication with the main land; and, having closed the exit of the lake, forced the water to rise, and convert the peninsula into an island, which it continues to be to the present day.

There is another lake, at the southern end of the plain, where they are now enlarging the exit of the river Verlicca, in order to facilitate the flow of water from the land. The river there runs under ground, by a natural passage, called "*Voragine*" ("the whirlpool"), and having passed through, to the other side of the hills, is said to reappear in the

* The fish mentioned by Heckel, in the lakes near Imoschi, are Phoxinus Mariglii, Squalius microlepis, Leucos cisalpinus, and Alburnus Scoranza; all which are *Cyprinidæ*.

† Or Prolojatz.

plain of Gliubuski, whence it runs, under the name of Trebisát *, to the Narenta at Strúké.

The plain of Imoschi, like many other parts of Dalmatia, has much need of drainage; a great portion of it being under water, during the autumn; and such is the value of the land, that by an outlay of half a million of florins (50,000*l.*), it is calculated that the government, or a company, would gain at least 40 per cent. By making a direct communication to carry off the water during the winter, from the northern to the southern lake, and by keeping up a sufficient quantity in another channel, for the purposes of irrigation in summer, when water is much wanted, every advantage might be derived from its productive soil; barren marshes would be converted into rich fields; and the climate, freed from fever, would be rendered healthy.

There is, indeed, a canal, on the western side of the plain, made by Signor Marco Werdoliack in 1819, the then *podestà* (or mayor) of Imoschi; who deserves great credit for an undertaking, persisted in, contrary to the opinion of the government, and the prejudices of those who were not directly benefited by it. Neither of these diverted him from his purpose; he undertook it on his own responsibility, and having employed 13,000 hands, completed it in so satisfactory a manner, that, on the report of the commission sent to examine it, he received the thanks of the government; and the poor land, which,

* See page 41.

till then, only produced a scanty crop of *sorghum*, is now rich and valuable soil.

Having a letter to the *pretore*, I happened to visit him at the very moment, when he was listening to a multitude of applications, some of which afforded considerable diversion. Among them were some slayers of wolves; who, being entitled to receive from the government twenty florins * a head for every male, and twenty-five for every she-wolf, had presented themselves with the trophies of their success. They were simple-minded boors, with the usual long pigtails, loose brown jackets, and blue tights of the Morlacchi; and quizzed by the hat-wearing townsmen, with a display of superior intelligence, they were asked, whether "they caught the wolf asleep," or "shot him unawares," or "if he had any wicked intentions," and numerous other questions; all of which were answered, with a simplicity, as genuine as it was entertaining; though not unaccompanied by the look, that betrayed their anxiety for the promised reward.

Wolves are far from numerous in Dalmatia, except in hard winters, when they come from the mountains of Turkey, and they are only about the size of a large dog.

Many curious costumes were seen at the Pretore's court, as well as in the market place, especially of the women, who, when married, wear a round white head-dress, ornamented with gold and silver pen-

* £2.

dants, which is peculiar to this part of the country, and a girdle fastened by a handsome clasp.

After inspecting the numerous groups, collected at the *Pretore's*, I went with Sign^r. Werdoliack, to see the tombs, and Roman road, near Runovich, below the opposite hills, to the westward. A short ride brought us to the *Kamen most* ("stone bridge"), on the other side of the plain, about a mile in a direct line from Imoschi. This bridge was once guarded by a tower at the east end, vestiges of which still remain. It is not of Roman time, but in the water, near the centre arch, a stone may be seen in summer, bearing this inscription, of Marcus Aurelius :—

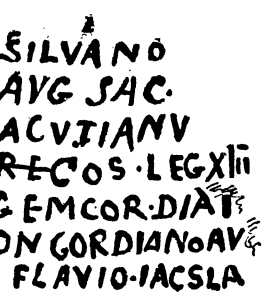
IMP (Cæsari)
DIVI ANTO
NINI FILIO DI
VI HADRIANI
NEPOTI DIVI TRAIA
NI PARTHICI PRONE(poti)
DIVI NERVAE (abne)POTI
M · AVRELIO ANTONI
(no Augusto) ARM(eniaco).

The stream, that runs under the bridge, comes from the hills to the north-west, and just below it begins the Werdoliack canal. It is supposed that the old Roman road followed the edge of these hills, when the plain was partly a marsh, and partly covered with wood; and report speaks of the tracks

of chariot wheels, still visible at a projecting hill, about a mile and a half to the south of the bridge. On the hill are some of the early Christian tombs, on one of which I observed a cross. It is the only one left standing, and consists of a triangular headed block, four feet long and nearly six high, placed on a flat slab. It stands about E.S.E., which I found to be the usual direction of these tombs, in other places.

About two miles further on is Runovich, also at the edge of the hills that skirt the plain; where, in the church yard, several Latin inscriptions have been found, few of which now remain. They were mostly dedications to Jupiter; and I was fortunate enough to obtain copies of those, that have been removed, or destroyed. Two, which are built into the wall, are dedicated "*Jovi optimo maximo, et Genio;*" another is let into the pavement of the church, and much worn by the feet of the congregation*; and the nine that have been taken

*



away were principally dedications to Jupiter *, by soldiers of the 1st and 13th Legions quartered there. One of them is interesting, from its giving the ancient name of the place, "*Nov*," or "*Novanium*†," written in the Itinerary of Antoninus "*ad Novas*," which may be traced in the modern Ru*nov*ich.

There are some remains of old walls, and Roman tiles; and in the church is a strange-looking stone, let into the wall, about one foot long and the same in height, which might answer very well as a monster pipe-bowl for a party of Derwishes. In a field below the village are some large slabs, belonging to old Christian tombs, and half a mile to the south of Runovich are nine or ten more; some of the sarcophagus shape, but without sculpture of any kind, except a scroll, or arabesque border.

The people are fond of tradition in Dalmatia;

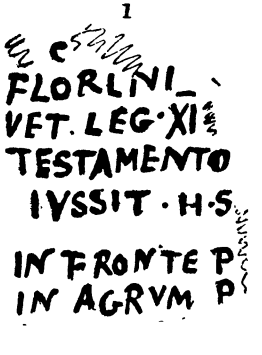
* I·O·M·
ET GENIO·M
N·SALVIS·CI
VIBVS AVRELIVS
DOMATVSO
VOTVM POSVIT·

† I·O·M·
ET GEN·M·N
SALCI·NOV·
AVR·DONAT
V·P·

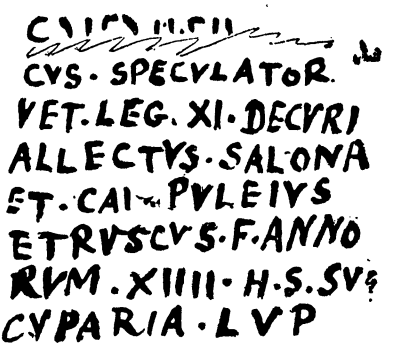
and pretend that these tombs are of the time of Diocletian: nor have natural phenomena escaped their love of the marvellous; and the origin of the *Yesari* of Imoschi is ascribed to the sins of a rich man, who was swallowed up with his house and flocks by the yawning ground, for his indifference to the sufferings of a poor peasant. With the circumstantial accuracy, however, of similar stories, it is related, that the rich man's wife was saved from the same fate, through her kind-heartedness, in supplying him with food; and this, like so many others, may serve to show the value of legendary tales, and the error of those who think that "there is always some truth in local tradition."

On returning to Imoschi, I was shown two other inscriptions, both funereal mementos, of veterans of the 11th Legion; one found in the village of Proloxaz *, the other at the sources of the Verlicca. †

* 1



† 2



During my ride to Runovich the sun was very warm; and, as the weather had long been clear, every one rejoiced in the unusual beauty of the season; November being generally a cold rainy month, which, from its ushering in the winter, is called, in Illyric, *Stúdeni;* for every month has received its name in that language, from some peculiarity, thus:

January is called Siçagn (Sichagn), "time of cutting" (wood for fire).
February — Végliaça, "unsettled."
March — Oxujak (Oxuiak), "clearing" (the weeds from the corn).
April — Travagn, "herbiferous."
May — Ivíbagn, "entwining" (of birds' nests).
June — Lípagn, "fine" (weather) (from *lip*, or *liepo*, "beautiful)."
July — Súrpagn, "sickle," or "reaping" (time).
August — Kólovoz, "carting" (from *kolo*, "wheel," and *vozité*, "to conduct)."
September — Ruian, "ruddy," (from *rui*, or *ruj*, "red," referring to red wine).
October — Listopad, "leaf-fall."
November — Stúdeni, "cold."
December — Prósinaz, "illuminated" (referring to the advent of Christ).

The very next day the greatest and most sudden change took place, that I ever remember to have seen in any country. It had rained all night, and on looking out of my window in the morning I perceived Mount Biocovo, and all the other mountains, covered with snow. The winter had at once set in, and the rapid change made the cold appear more

intense; as I was painfully convinced on leaving Imoschi.

During my stay in this part of Dalmatia, I had an opportunity of observing the manners and customs of the Morlacchi; many of which are found in other Slavonic countries.*

The Dalmatians of the coast, and the principal families in the large towns of the interior, are mostly of Venetian extraction; and those who are of Hungarian origin have adopted the customs and language of the Italians; there is therefore little worthy of notice in their notions, or mode of life, and even the Eastern custom of presenting coffee to a visiter is borrowed from Venice. It is brought by the lady of the house, or by her daughters, as in Levantine families; who frequently perform the duties of servants, among the middle classes.

Manufactures, as I have already shown†, are very rare, both in the towns of the coast, and in the interior; and neither the Dalmatians of Italian origin, nor those of Slavonic race, are noted for any skill; except the ship-builders of Curzola, the manufacturers of liqueurs at Zara, or the venders of oil and wine throughout the country. The trades common in all parts of the world are found in the towns; and thread, a few cotton and linen stuffs, twine, and ropes, leather, felt, the very inferior

* Of the origin of the Morlacchi, and their first arrival in Dalmatia, see the History in Chapter IX.

† See Vol. I. pp. 41. and 216.; and below, p. 171. on the clothes of the peasants.

cloth called *Rascia*, generally dyed blue with indigo, coarse blankets, and some of the most ordinary productions of the hand, compose the principal articles made in Dalmatia; the shops being supplied with cutlery, and all manufactured goods from abroad, and principally from Trieste. A few silk handkerchiefs, it is true, are produced from the looms of Ragusa; but they can scarcely be reckoned one of the manufactures of Dalmatia; though the absence of this, or other branches of industry, is by no means owing to any want of intelligence in the people; who, in the towns at least, are fully able to avail themselves of whatever encouragement the government might feel disposed to afford.

Nor do the peasantry rear any great number of sheep, or cattle; horses are rare, and of very diminutive size*; and if turkies, and other of the winged tribe, thrive there, no inducement is held out to rear them; and the fisheries, profitable as they might be, are neglected, or impeded by short-sighted duties.

The natural productions of the country may, perhaps, be of no great importance; but their value might be greatly increased. Salt has always been a considerable article of commerce; and is now a profitable export, as in the days of the Hungarians and Venetians. It however requires to be made an auxiliary, not an impediment, to other

* See above, Vol. I. p. 230.

articles of trade; and though encouragement has been given to the rearing of mulberry trees (which the narrow policy of Venice once attempted to root up throughout Dalmatia), much remains to be done, to improve the resources of the country. The climate indeed offers great advantages, as well as the rivers, and the nature of the coast; and a land that produces currants, gooseberries, strawberries, apples, pears, plums, almonds, peaches, apricots, oranges, lemons, *carubas*, pomegranates, and even dates, corn, wine, and oil, coal, asphaltum, coral, and abundance of fresh and salt-water fish, cannot be said to be without its share of the benefits bestowed on other countries, or be thought incapable of proper development.

The Morlacchi differ very much from the other inhabitants; far more than the peasantry generally do from the people of the towns; which is readily explained by their having come into the country, at a comparatively recent period; it is not therefore surprising that many of their customs are singular, and that they differ from those of the other Dalmatians. Of these their superstitions are not the least remarkable.

A Morlacco believes that if he murders any one, he will be haunted by his shade, unless he carries about him a piece of the murdered man's dress. The part preferred for this purpose is taken from the sash; and, having once put it on his breast, beneath his clothes, he never goes without it. He has also

a belief that the blood of the dead body will boil up, whenever he goes near it; and so strong is this fear, that if obliged to approach it, or when, in order to lull suspicion, he is induced to do so voluntarily, he will never look directly at it; and these two superstitious notions, as may be supposed, have frequently been taken advantage of, for the detection of crime.

The strong objection of the Morlacchi to take an oath has, in some instances, been construed into a proof of guilt; but this arises from mere prejudice; and the innocent man is quite as averse to it, as the most culpable, even though he might thereby establish his innocence; and it is only by degrees that the Austrians can succeed, in overcoming this, and other strange scruples.

They also believe that, when a man dies, especially one who has led a bad life, he comes out of the tomb, about forty days after his death, and haunts his neighbours, as a *Vukózlak*, or vampire, and sucks the blood of their children. The moment notice is given of his having appeared to any one, application is made to a priest; who proceeds forthwith to the tomb, and having pricked the body with pins, or sharp thorns, thus prevents his future wanderings upon earth, and disarranges the domestic economy of the vampire, which consists of a body full of blood. When, as is sometimes the case, in these more enlightened days, a priest cannot be induced to perform the ceremony, the people do it them-

selves; and those, who have the misfortune of living in bad company, frequently take the precaution to prick the bodies of their friends, at the time of the burial, to prevent accidents.

Dreams are of great importance, among the Morlacchi; who, when their parents, or friends, appear to them, apply to a priest to interpret the vision. With great seriousness, he persuades them that the souls of their friends are in purgatory, and require alms, and masses, to release them; often extracting large sums by this appeal to their fears, and generosity; and Lovrich says that many have been impoverished, by these tricks of priestly avarice.

The *Maçich* is a "*spirito folletto*," or elf, in the form of a boy, who is always laughing, and appears with a small cap on his head. This superstition is very common, in the southern part of the Isle of Brazza. He who sees him is considered very fortunate, as he may order him to do whatever he likes. When commanded to bring him money, the boy generally proposes to go to some neighbour's house, and fetch it immediately; but if the man is honest, and, objecting to this proposal, orders him to bring it from some place, in such a manner that no one shall be injured, he offers to go for it into the sea; and on his return, dripping with water, presents the wished-for treasure.

The *Vila* * (*fata*, or fairy) is the good companion of a man; not like the dæmon of Socrates, but a

* An old Pagan belief. See above, Vol. I. p. 22.

handsome girl, who accompanies him everywhere, assisting him in all his undertakings, and carrying him wherever he wishes. The fortunate man is called Vílénik, and is envied by his friends, and feared by his enemies.

The belief in a good, and bad, genius is universal; the latter corresponding, in name and character, to the devil, the former being the remnant of an old superstition common in Roman times; when the many altars were dedicated to "Jovi optimo maximo, et *genio*," which are still met with in the country.*

Charms against the evil eye, and various calamities, are used by them, as in the East; and they have the same Oriental belief, of men and women being possessed by devils. They even feel great respect for those who are *possessed*, "considering them martyrs of our days †;" which is analogous to the Eastern idea of mad people being holy. "Women have therefore sometimes pretended to be possessed, in order to acquire this reputation; for which they have suffered at the hands of their husbands; who, finding that a priest failed in exorcising them, have had recourse to a stick for the purpose, and with marked success;" and Lovrich thinks it the best remedy for those, who are similarly afflicted.

The Vistize, or Viéstizze‡ (witches), are married women, who have led a bad life, and who have

* See above, p. 149. † Lovrich, p. 193.

‡ The Viéstizze is one of the superstitions of Servia. See Ranke, pp. 70. 72.

made a compact with the devil. Even while living, their spirits leave their bodies, and flying about by night, as sparks of fire, inflict great injuries on those they dislike. They unite together in numbers, and hold a consultation, beneath some large walnut tree, respecting the calamity they shall bring upon them. If a husband suspects his wife to be one of this community, he waits till she is asleep in bed, and then turns her head where her feet were, so that the spirit on its return, being unable to re-enter the body, is obliged to request him to place it in its original position. The discovery, however, is far from agreeable; as he lives in constant fear, that she will do him some injury: but I could not discover that this notion had the effect of improving the treatment of women by their husbands.

Lovrich says the witches sometimes assume the form of a butterfly; and that they are mostly old maids; who, having arrived at a certain age without finding husbands*, out of spite, take to witchcraft; their particular pleasure being to eat the hearts of those they hate. Their general meetings are held on the vigils of St. George, and St. John (the 23d of June). "On the latter night, whoever can gather the seeds of the fern may acquire a knowledge of all events, and learn the thoughts of every one; but this the witches pre-

* This is directly at variance with what I learnt in the country. See below, p. 160.

vent, by hiding them; and the Morlacchi, who suppose that the seeds are not to be found at any other time, are ignorant of their being at the back of the leaf."

As a precaution against enchantments, they frequently fix the tail of a wolf against the doors of their houses; and this is the more remarkable, as it resembles a custom mentioned by Pliny, of putting up the head of that animal, for a similar purpose.*

The *Orco* seems to correspond with the Irish *Phooka*, or "spirit horse." "It appears in the shape of an ass, and carrying people off, gallops over precipices, and suddenly vanishing in mire, leaves the rider immersed in it." †

Morra is really a *nightmare*, but is rather more serious in its consequences in Dalmatia, than in other countries. It is supposed to be caused by a girl, who, as a spirit, goes to seek the man she loves, contrary to his wishes, he being at the time in love with some other person. She therefore torments him, and seeks by these means to force him to renounce his favourite, and marry her.

In order to ascertain whether she really visits him as a *Morra*, or if it is merely a dream, he places a handkerchief before his door, on going to bed, folded in the shape of a cross; and if he finds,

* Plin. xxviii. 44. "Veneficiis rostrum lupi resistere inveteratum aiunt, ob idque villarum portis præfigunt."

† Lovrich, p. 202.

next morning, that it has been unfolded, he feels persuaded she has been to visit him, and that, seeing the cross, she had abstained from molesting him, being satisfied in disturbing the charm. The consequence is that she comes no more; but still his apprehension is not over; he dreads lest she should become the wife of another man, and then, turning *Viéstizza*, should do him some great injury (for it is only married women who have the power of assuming that character), and his only chance of safety is to apply to a priest for an amulet to protect him. This consists of a piece of paper, with the name of God written within, and a cross on the outside; which, being folded up flat, and sewed into a piece of cloth, is worn at the back of the neck; much in the same way as charms in the East. The priests make a great profit by writing these valuable documents, and others are composed for the cure of diseases, and various purposes, as with the Moslems.

There are other superstitious customs, and popular beliefs, among the Morlacchi; one of which is the sight of a snake crossing the road, which is considered a good omen, foretelling a prosperous journey.

The ideas of the Morlacchi respecting the snake are very extraordinary; and Lovrich mentions a strange legend, which is evidently handed down from Pagan times, and is analogous to that of Apollo and the Python. "They believe that, in

the beginning, there were three suns; the heat of which being excessive, the serpent resolved on getting rid of them, but not being able to absorb more than two and a half, the remaining half sun was left, which is the one that now lights the world, and this being still too much for the serpent to bear, he was compelled to hide himself in the ground among rocks. Incensed at this attack of the serpent, the sun applauded anybody who slew one of them; but said to him, who having it in his power failed to do so, 'May your right hand be withered;'" and this confirms what Fortis says of his guides on Mount Biocovo, who "ran furiously to kill a snake with stones, they saw upon the path."* Nor is their wish to kill it inconsistent with the belief in its good omen; and the same contradictory hatred, and regard, for the serpent are found among people of all ages.

A dog is also a messenger of good: which is very fortunate, otherwise few journies would be undertaken; but if a man sees an owl, he will return home, though half his journey is over, even after a march of two or three days, and start afresh, with better hopes.

On meeting any one on the road, they always say, "*Hvalien Isus*," "Jesus be praised," the answer towhich is "*Vazda*," or "*Vazda budi i Maria*," "always," or "He always is, and Maria;" and no one, even were he callous to crime, would omit the

* Lovrich, p. 189. Fortis, p. 273.

most extravagant signs of devotion, on passing a cross by the road-side.

They have the Yule log, which is placed at Christmas eve on the hearth, with priestly benedictions, and the sprinkling of holy water. It is called *Badniak*, and is of oak, lime, laurel, or olive, sufficiently large to burn all night; and from it the day and evening are called *badnii dan*, *badnii véçer*, "the day," or "evening, of the log." The usual ceremony is this: when the log is brought into the house, the head of the family takes off his cap, saying, "Be thou welcome, O log! God preserve thee!" and at the same moment sprinkles it with wine, making the sign of the cross. As it burns on the hearth, he throws over it some corn; and, after invoking every blessing, on all present and absent friends, prays for the success of their domestic undertakings, and for a good harvest. The others answer, "May it be so," and then firing off guns and pistols, say to each other, "May the evening of the log be welcome!"

After this they sit down at table; in the centre of which three lighted candles, twisted together as an emblem of the Trinity, are fixed upright in a large loaf, ornamented with ivy; and the master of the house, taking a little of every eatable from the table, throws it on the burning log. When three logs are burnt together, which is sometimes done, in honour of the Trinity, he throws it on them, in succession; beginning with that to the right, which is the largest, and is consecrated to

the Father, then that to the left, and lastly the centre one, which represent the Son and Holy Spirit; — a ceremony very similar to one mentioned by Boccaccio, in his Geneaology of the Gods.

It is always required that at least one wax candle should be lighted at table; and so scrupulous are they on this point, that the poorest mountaineers, who have little money to spare, would rather spend it in the purchase of a candle than of their supper.

The firing continues, at intervals, during the evening; and at midnight the church bells begin a discordant clatter, being all struck by a hammer, with a contemptuous disregard for harmony, and the ears of mankind; and this is repeated in the early part of the morning. Discharges of guns and pistols again commence; and the priest, or one of the family, solemnly proclaims that "Christ is born;" and on his being answered by the set phrase, "Truly He is born," various other ceremonies take place, with compliments of the season to all present. Christmas is kept as a strict festival, no work being done on that, or the following, day; and both are passed in eating and drinking, and other Morlacco entertainments.

At the beginning of the new year, they burn at table the same candles of Christmas eve; the ceremony beginning with this formula: "May the new year be fortunate to you; may you long enjoy health, and happiness; neither offending God, nor injuring the soul, but having every blessing and

heavenly joy." After this, having thrice drunk some pure wine, the head of the family pours a little, in the name of the Trinity, over the candles, to extinguish them; when, if, by chance, any one of them remains burning, it prognosticates a long life for him, before whom it stands.

St. John's day is also kept with due honours; and the old Pagan custom of lighting fires at the summer solstice, to celebrate the commencement of the new year, has been transposed to the festival of the Baptist in Dalmatia, as in Switzerland, and other countries.*

It would be an endless task to notice all the fêtes of the Morlacchi, which occupy, with Sundays, about one third of the whole year†, and tend to keep up the love of idleness and amusement, so injurious to the Dalmatian peasantry. Many, as in other countries, are remnants of Paganism, and some are peculiar to the Slavonic race.

Their customs and ceremonies have been well described by Fortis: I shall therefore only mention some of those, that have come under my own observation.

Their marriages require no long term of affiance beforehand; and to court, propose, and be accepted, frequently occupy only a few days. Having made up his mind, the suitor sends two friends (one of them a near relation, with the title of

* See Hope's Architecture, p. 187.

† See above, p. 120.

Stari-svat,) to ask the hand of his intended. If accepted, they fire a salute of joy; and if refused, either by the girl, or her parents, their return is unaccompanied by any demonstrations. If, however, the girl is willing to accept the offer, against the consent of her parents, a runaway match is concocted, and the lover takes a more active part in the proceedings, than is usual on the occasion. Sometimes, the *Stari-svat* is sent to choose a bride for his friend, from a family quite unknown to him; in which case, the suitor is introduced, as soon as the selection has been made; and if both parties are pleased with each other, the marriage is agreed upon, and the proper arrangements are set on foot. The first step is to send presents to the bride, among which are a ring, a pair of shoes, a mirror, and comb, a red silk bandeau* for binding the hair (wherever that is part of the costume), and an apple, stuck all over with coins of gold and silver, according to the wealth of the parties; poor people being satisfied with the value of a dollar. The members of the bridegroom's family also send her presents, consisting of kerchiefs, shirts, and other things, among which are shoes; these being permitted to married women, though the custom of most of the Morlacchi obliges them to wear *opanche* sandals, before marriage. The bride then presents the bridegroom, and each member of his family with a

* Called *tendel,* or *tzendel.*

pair of stockings, and garters, worked with gold and silk thread; and aprons to his female relations.

A day having been fixed for announcing the marriage, and for the ceremony itself, generally about one or two months beforehand; and the banns having been proclaimed, on three previous Sundays, or *festas;* invitations are sent by the bridegroom, at the beginning of the last week, to engage his friends to supper, on the eve of the wedding; when they are told what duties each is to perform on the occasion; the father, brother, or nearest relation, of the bridegroom taking a glass of wine, and drinking to the health of every one, under the title of the office he is to hold.

One is called the *Stari-svat*, or master of the ceremonies, who has the highest post. Another is the *Compáré*, "witness," or "bridegroom's man," (who afterwards kneels at the altar with the married couple); a third is the *Bérakdár*, or flag-bearer, who carries a silk flag, with an apple fixed to the spearhead; and the other principal personages are the *Divar-basha*, and two Divari (brothers of the bridegroom, if he has any), who take care of the bride, and carry the umbrella over her*, or whatever she may require; and the *Cháüs* (*chówes*, *ciáoos*), or beadle. He carries a sort of mace, or battle-axe, having one of the bride's handkerchiefs

* It is not used in all parts of the country. This resembles the canopy in an eastern marriage procession, and the name of *Bérakdar, chaus*, and others are Turkish. Of the *chaus*, τζαους, see Gibbon, c. liii.

attached to the handle, and his duty is to arrange, and clear the road for, the procession, on its way to church; when, from his noisy antics, he often performs the part of a buffoon. There are also the *popivato*, or piper; the *pérvinez* (a boy who carries wine in a leather bottle, called *Bouclie*, before the procession); and the *Segmen-boulin-basha*, who is leader of the eight or nine guests, called *Segmeni*; and some others.

On their way to the church, the bridegroom and his friends go first, in a separate party, and await the bride before the door. In some places, they perform a solemn kind of dance, during that interval; as at Dobrota, and other villages about Cattaro, where they have the custom of carrying the canopy, or umbrella, over the bride.

Arriving with her head and face covered by a white veil, she is conducted by a female friend into the church, where she kneels in the nave. One of the *Dívari* approaches, and presents an apple, stuck over with coins, to her companion; who then asks for another, and, on receiving that, for another; when a jocose *Dívari* sometimes offers an onion instead; and this part of the ceremony ends, in her giving over the bride to the *Dívari*, who leads her to the altar. She there kneels by the side of the bridegroom, who is already waiting on his knees, with his *compáré*, and the priest performs the service.

As soon as this is over, they all leave the church, the two *Dívari* conducting the bride; and all the

party fire off their guns and pistols, except the bridegroom himself, who is on that day unarmed. On their way, preceded by the piper and the *chaus*, they are met by the friends of the family, bringing wine and refreshments; and, on reaching home, preparations are made for a feast.*

They all dine, the first day, at the house of the bride, and afterwards go to that of the bridegroom, where women dance the *Kollo* †, or circle dance, while children scramble for the money and fruit, thrown amongst them by the *Stari-svat.* A great discharge of fire-arms proclaims the final departure of the bride, from her father's house; and a *Divari*, with one of the guests, carries her box of dresses to her new abode. As she approaches the door, they bring her a child, which she takes in her arms; when having kissed it, and given it a handkerchief, or some other present, she returns it to the nurse; and, on going in, she kneels and kisses the threshold of the door. Her mother-in-law then presents her with a sieve, filled with dried fruits, as an emblem of her future household duties; which she scatters among the guests behind her, to indicate the abundance that is to result from her entering her husband's house, and to show that the welfare of a family depends on the labour of the woman.

As she goes in, she is met by her husband, with whom she retires into a private room, accompanied

* Fortis gives a similar account of their marriages, p. 72.

† Collo, or Kolo. See above, Vol. I. p. 399.

only by the two *Dívari*, until dinner is announced, when he leaves her with her two attendants. At dinner, the bridegroom is waited upon by the *compáré*, who cuts his bread and meat for him, as he is not allowed to use a knife on the occasion; and the principal ceremony is the drinking from the *Bukkara*, a large wooden cup, which goes round the table.

The second day they all go to the church; and, on their return, the same ceremonies are repeated as before; the friends bringing refreshments, and firing guns; after which they dine at the husband's house. Though the bride does not sit at table with them, she gives presents, during dinner, to the assembled guests; among whom are her mother, and her female friend; who decide upon the presents suited to each person; and on their being presented, by the *Dívari*, together with a glass of wine, they are acknowledged by good wishes, and by a sum of money, according to the means, or the generosity, of the donors.

This festival lasts three days, sometimes longer, and is often attended with other ceremonies *, which vary slightly in different parts of the country. In places where girls wear the red cap, that of the bride is deposited at the church door, and replaced by a white veil, or other headdress, at the time of the marriage; for the mode of covering the head always distinguishes married, from single,

* See Fortis, pp. 71—74.

women, among the Morlacchi, and lower orders in Dalmatia. The red cap is the most usual headdress for girls; and the whole of the front of it, and of the entire bodice, is covered with gold and silver coins, which may be considered their dowry; a convenient mode of proclaiming the fortune of the wearer, which, in countries where marriages are made for money, might be adopted to advantage; save troublesome enquiries; and prevent mistakes.

At the funerals of the *Morlacchi*, the real or pretended mourners howl, and address their lamentations to the dead, as in old Pagan times; and as in modern Egypt, Ireland, and Montenegro; and, taking advantage of his departure for the other world, they whisper into his ear some messages for their deceased friends, which they beg him to deliver, on his arrival. The gaudy dresses of the women are then exchanged for black stuffs, and veils, of the same make as their usual costume, and the men allow their beards to grow, "being till then shaved."* They also pay visits to the tombs on holidays, when the women strew flowers over them, as the Moslems do in Egypt, and other parts of the East.

Of their medicinal knowledge I can only say, that it is very primitive; and, fortunately for them, their simple mode of living guarantees them from many complicated disorders, common in other countries, and enables them speedily to get over acci-

* "Τεως εξυρημενοι," as Herodotus says of the ancient Egyptians, ii. 36.

dents, which generally require great surgical skill, and a long time to recover from. For tertian agues they use a decoction of verbena in beef-broth, with what success I know not; but Fortis says they cure inflammatory fevers by doses of brandy, and, in stubborn cases, add a large infusion of pepper, or gunpowder. Wine and pepper he also mentions, as their remedy for the ague. He considers them "very dexterous in setting dislocated, or broken, bones;" and red-hot stones, wrapped in wet rags, are used for rheumatic pains, as well as violent friction, which "sometimes strips off the skin." "The last remedy, in desperate cases, is sugar; and they put it into the mouths of dying persons, to make them pass into the other world with less bitterness." *

The peasants make their own clothes; all that can be sewn, or worked by the needle, being done by women; and they are generally contented with their own manufactures of common linen, serge, coarse blanketing, and the blue cloth called *Rascia*†, which is mostly used for trousers. The costume of the men varies in different parts of Dalmatia: some wear the turban, others only the red skull cap, with devices worked upon it in silk; and sometimes their tight pantaloons assume the fulness and importance of Turkish trousers. They have mustaches, but no beards, all the spare hair being devoted to a long pigtail, which no Chinese could

* Fortis, p. 87. † See above, p. 153. and Vol. I. p. 216.

look upon unmoved; and this, decorated with silken, and silver, or leaden ornaments, is lengthened by three or four tassels to below the waist.

The costume of the women is more varied; and differs very much in many places. Girls generally wear a blue cloth frock-coat, or pelisse, bordered with bright colours; a white petticoat; a red cloth cap; white stockings, with socks worked in various worsteds, drawn over them, as high as the ankles; and *opanche*, or sandals, fronted with leather thongs. Married women wear a similar pelisse, over a blue petticoat; a white veil, or kerchief, on the head; and coloured leggins, socks, and *opanche*, or sometimes yellow, or red, shoes; and both have aprons, worked with various coloured devices, and bordered with a long fringe.*

The *Morlacchi* women are tall, and well made, frequently handsome, but seldom very clean; and, in the mountainous districts, the incessant labour they have to perform, while it makes them muscular and hardy, soon destroys the delicacy, and freshness, of youth.

The men are all armed, generally with a long knife, called *Hangiar*†, and a brace of pistols, in a leathern girdle, and a long gun. These, in former times, gave them every facility for beginning, or revenging, quarrels; and the *Morlacchi* were noted

* See the costumes in Carrara's Dalmazia descritta.

† The same as the Turkish yatagan (yatak̲an). Hangiar, or Khanjar, is also a Turkish word.

for complicated blood feuds, and a system of retaliation, which has, with great difficulty, been put a stop to by the Austrian government.

In those days of murder and rapine, which, as in other countries, are still revered, under the ridiculous name of "the good old times," the *Morlacchi* were remarkable for their dexterous, and impudent, thefts; which were effected with an effrontery, as extraordinary as it was amusing. Entering into conversation with a man, they would wait till he turned round, and then take up something belonging to him, hide it for a moment, and afterwards, bringing it out, ask the owner if he did not think it very good, or handsome; observing at the same time, with the greatest coolness, that it was bought a few days ago, for such and such a sum. On the man saying he had lost something very like it, or that he believed it to be the same, the thief would simply observe that he himself always took care of his goods, by not allowing them to go out of his own hand, and would recommend him for the future to do the same; and many strange tales are told of their ingenuity, in defeating the precautions of those, who were alive to their pilfering propensity.

They seldom robbed by force; that part of the trade being almost exclusively in the hands of the *Haiduks*, who were therefore the great dread of people travelling in Dalmatia. But the Haiduks are now completely exterminated, throughout the

country; and the only wanderers are gipsies, who mostly come from Turkey, and perform the office, as in other countries, of itinerant tinkers. They are called *Zingani*, and in Illyric *Zigani*.*

"The habitations of the Morlacchi †, except those in the *circoli* of Ragusa, and Cattaro," very unlike the houses of the towns in Dalmatia, "may properly be designated huts, the walls being built of rough stone, frequently without cement, and the roofs composed of flat slabs of schist, or a coarse thatch. Four large posts, fixed in the ground, are their principal support; the floor is the bare earth; and the door serves for window and chimney;" for the largest houses have no other way of getting rid of the smoke, though some are furnished with a small square aperture, for admitting light, which claims the name of window, and is closed at night by a wooden shutter. "The whole building consists of one room, which performs the office of reception, and dining, room, bed-chamber, kitchen, wardrobe, granary or store-room, and frequently pig-sty ‡; and if more than one family lives under the same roof, the space is portioned off by a thin partition, made of twigs wattled together like a hurdle §, covered with mortar, or a mixture of lime and compost." The upper part of the large houses,

* *Singular* Zigan.

† Carrara's Dalmazia descritta, p. 147.

‡ As is often the case in out-of-the-way places in Greece.

§ See woodcut, in Vol. I. p. 231.

within the pent, is divided into a loft, for keeping Indian corn, and other provisions; the floor of which is formed of the same kind of wattled-work, resting on rafters; and a square hole, in this floor, serves as an entrance, with a ladder for its staircase.

In one corner of the room is the bed, placed on a raised bench, or "on four planks resting upon posts fixed in the ground, and consisting of straw covered with goat-skins;" the rich peasants only having the luxury of a coarse mattress; and two Turkish blankets serve, one as a coverlid or sheet, the other as a feather bed, and a jacket taken off and turned inside out, as a pillow. "In winter, they frequently sleep, half dressed, near the fireplace, or elsewhere, on the bare ground, covered with their cloak; and in summer in the open air, or in the barn, which is a separate building, of still ruder construction than the house."* Near the bed is generally a large box, or press, for clothes; and a table, some forms, or three-legged stools, small kegs for holding water, various utensils, agricultural implements, sacks, arms, and a few other things, constitute the rest of the furniture, or the lumber, of the interior. During the day the door is left open, but in the evening they depend for light on the fire, or on a small open lamp — a kind of saucer, with one or two recumbent wicks, lying like worms amidst some melted butter. In the

* Carrara.

middle, or at one corner, of the room, is a raised hearth, on which a wood fire burns beneath an iron pot, suspended by a chain from the beam above; and the embers, covered over with ashes at bed time, await the first who rises in the morning, to rake them up into the every-day duty of lighting a smoky fire.

At table*, the Morlacchi generally eat with their fingers, though some use wooden spoons and forks, of their own manufacture; and before meals they make the sign of the cross, with this grace: "In the name of God," answering exactly to the "*bismillah*" of the Moslems. They are fond of wine; and in drinking they pass the cup to each other, saying, "to your health;" or, when using separate cups, they touch those of the party all round, with the same complimentary wish; the first tokens of welcome, and hospitality, being administered by the master of the house, who is looked upon, as in the East, by every one of the family, with the highest respect.

The Morlacchi have little knowledge of music, and the one-stringed *gûsla* gives no very favourable notion of their taste. They have a single, and a double, pipe; the latter made of two wooden tubes, joined together, with a common mouth-piece, and each with four holes. They have also bagpipes, very like those of Calabria. Their predilection for a shake, in playing the pipe, is consistent with

* Carrara, p. 139.

the imperfection of their musical taste; the airs are simple; and, as in all original and primitive compositions, in a minor key.

They are particularly fond of dancing; which is usually performed to the sound of a sort of three-stringed violin; and their favourite figure, as in other Slavonic countries, is the circle; each man having one or two partners, the step being a sort of hop, alternately from one, to the other, leg.*

Poetry has always been much cultivated in Dalmatia, and some of the Illyric poems are not devoid of elegance, and taste. These, however, cannot be considered the productions of the *Morlacchi*, but of educated persons, who have devoted themselves to the study of literature; many of whom have been also noted, for their proficiency in Latin composition. Ragusa, and other towns, have given birth to Illyric poets of celebrity †, whose names are mentioned with respect to the present day; nor is the lyrical genius yet extinct; and the Vladika of Montenegro enjoys considerable reputation, for his poetical talents. The language, soft and harmonious, is well adapted to versification, and songs, some of which are thought to be of a very early time; though Fortis ‡ "could find none of the latter, of well-authenticated date, before the fourteenth century."

Many of the customs in Dalmatia are common

* See the fair of Salona, Vol. I. p. 169.

† See Appendini, ii. 124—298.

‡ Fortis, p. 83. Ranke's History of Servia, (transl.) p. 75.

to other Slavonic people, as the *Pobratimi*, "*half*," or "*sworn, brothers*," who are not, as Ranke seems to think, peculiar to "the Servian tribe;" and the mode of keeping Christmas, the use of the *gûsla*, and many other peculiarities, are the same as in Servia, and most Slavonic countries. They have also the *Posestrime*, or "*half sisters*," who are united in a particular ceremony, performed at church by a priest, whose benediction they receive, in the same way as the men; and these friendships are not only lasting, but any disregard of them would be looked upon as the infringement of a sacred bond. *

Indeed, they are far more than a mere moral obligation; they are a solemn religious act; and the performance of the prescribed rites binds the two friends together, whether men, or women, for their whole life; whatever may be their fate, or the difference of their career.

On an appointed day, the two friends, clad in scarlet, repair to the church, accompanied by a long retinue of relations and friends; where, kneeling at the altar, they attend mass, each holding in his hand a lighted taper (large or small, according to his means); after which ceremony the priest blesses them, and they, swearing immutable brotherhood, promise to assist each other, even till death. On leaving the church, they are received with songs, improvised for the occasion, and the salutations of the assembled friends, who, discharging

* See Fortis, p. 57., Cassas, p. 50., and Carrara.

guns and pistols, accompany them to the house of the one, who happens to live nearest the spot; where, a grand feast being prepared, they are received by the family, and placed in the post of honour, the others (with the exception of the women) sitting round in a circle; and when dinner is served up, all the guests drink to the health of the two "sworn brothers,"* after which they amuse themselves with the *Kollo* dance, and other festivities.

At sunset, they separate with many affectionate embraces; and the one who goes away, calls on the name of his friend, and fires a pistol, which is returned by the other, and so on until the whole party is out of sight.

It is usual for the "sworn brothers" to have every thing in common; they are bound to fight for each other; and if one falls, the survivor must avenge his death; but though adopted by many of the Slavonians, no class among them seem to have cherished the custom more than the Haiduk robbers; who, united strongly by common dangers, seem to have formed these brotherly alliances, without regard to their creed, or nation; and George Tzerni, the father of the present prince of Servia, and

* Pobratimi signifies, literally, "*half* brothers," from *Po* "half," *Brate* "brother;" but they are half brothers from choice, not by birth. *Posestrime* is taken from *Sestra*, "a sister." There is also a "*Drougina*," or "friendhood," among the Slavonians. See Fortis, p. 57., and Cassas, p. 50.

Pasvan Oglou, who both engaged in the profession of Haiduks, were bound together by the ties of *Pobratimi*.

Leaving Imoschi, we crossed the plain in a N.W. direction, by the bridge over the Verlicca, and thence towards the west end of the lake of Proloxaz *, celebrated for its eels, which are considered superior even to those of the Narenta, and are sent to different places, for the benefit of gourmands. We passed the village of Proloxaz, a short distance to our right, near the mouth of a bold ravine, once commanded, and defended, by a castle upon the height, now a ruin; and such was the importance of this position, that the Romans made it a military post; as is proved by the many tombs of legionary soldiers, found in the neighbourhood.†

Crossing the bridge, called *Súmet Most*, built over a winter torrent, we ascended the hills, a little to the north of the straggling village of Poglizza, which is about three miles from Imoschi. The road commands a fine view over the lake of Proloxaz, and the *Yesaro* beyond it; and after winding for a mile and a half, through a wood of birch, oak, and alder, we came to the tombs of Drenovaz. Some are of the usual sarcophagus shape, others merely slabs. A rude representation of a horse with a high saddle, some whimsical devices‡, and an arabesque scroll pattern§, (of better style

* Prolojatz.
† See above, p. 150.
‡ Marked Figs. 3, 4, 5.
§ Fig. 6.

than usual); the crescent, and one or more stars, or rosettes, are their principal ornaments; and on one I observed a cross. Among the devices is the *Gammadion* *, which occurs on two of the tombs. It was used in early Christian times, in England, and other countries, among ornamental devices, in MSS., on tombs, and on church vestments, from about the year 1011 to 1400; after which it is not met with in England. It is very common on monumental crosses of the fourteenth century; and was a favourite ornament in the Greek church, whence it probably came into western Europe; and it is known in heraldic language as a *Fylfot.*

Other tombs are found a short distance beyond; and about a mile further are those of Loquicich. They are very like those of Drenovaz; but one of them, a large thick slab, bears the crescent, with a sword and shield, twice repeated †, presenting a more than ordinary resemblance to armorial bearings. Another, with an arm holding a sword, has also the character of an heraldic device. ‡ The rope frequently occurs among the ornaments, and borders of the panels, as on the tomb at Dogliane §; the crescent, with the horns placed upwards, down-

* Marked Fig. 2. † Fig. 8.

‡ Figs. 7. 11. This is similar to the arm and sword on the escutcheon of the "Primordiæ-Kumaniæ," and was the crest of the Harvoyevich-Vukich family.

§ Fig. 1. See above, p. 33.

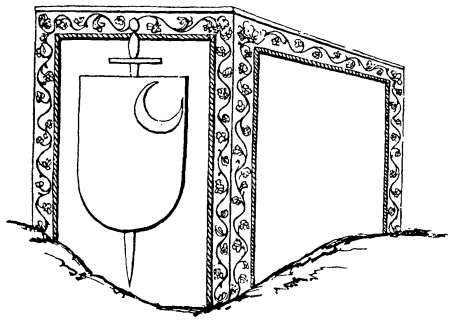


Fig. 1.

At Dogliane.

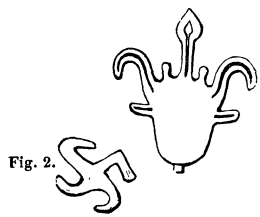
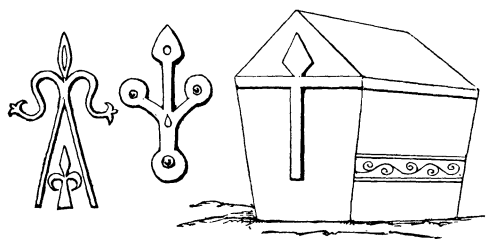


Fig. 3.

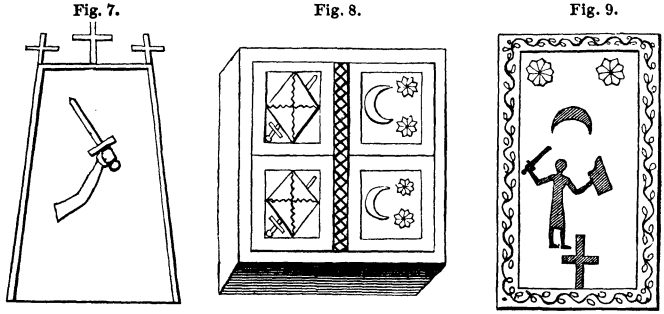
Fig. 2.

Fig. 4. Fig. 5. Fig. 6.



At Drenovaz.

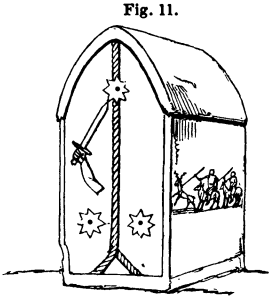
Fig. 7. Fig. 8. Fig. 9.



At Loquicich.

Fig. 10.

Fig. 11.



At Cisto.

Fig. 12.

Fig. 13.

wards, or sideways, is found on most of them, as well as men on horseback, deer, and numerous fantastical devices; and on some few are both the crescent and the cross.

The union of the two emblems of Christianity and Islám is remarkable, and gives an additional interest to these unknown sepulchres; but it is scarcely necessary to observe, that the crescent establishes no connexion with the Moslems; that emblem having been used by the Christians, as well as Pagans, at a very early time, and being only adopted by the Turks. It is found, with a star, on engraved stones of ancient Greece; it is on coins of Athens, and of Carrhæ, as well as on those of Tiberius and other Roman emperors; the escutcheons of Bosnia and Illyria have both the crescent and the star; and many Slavonian families bear them in their arms. And though the crescent, and the cross, on the fountains of Germany, and in other places, may be of late time, there is no doubt that the former is an

old Byzantine emblem, copied by the Moslems, on their invasion of the provinces of the Empire." *

It is difficult to decide upon the exact date of these tombs; but there is little reason to doubt that they were of the Christians, who occupied these countries previous to the Turkish invasion, during the rule of Bosnian, and other Slavonian princes; and from the absence of regular armorial bearings (on the same monuments where certain symbols appear, which have the character of an early attempt at their introduction), it is reasonable to suppose that many of them date long before the fifteenth century.† The use of the bow, and spear, in the chase, indicate an early date, and the cross suffices to show them to be the burial places of Christians; and if it is singular that the latter should occur so rarely, we may conclude that those which bear it are subsequent to the Turkish arrival in Europe, when there was more reason to introduce the distinguishing emblem of Christianity. This seems to be confirmed by the appearance of a tomb at Lovrich, and another in Herzegóvina, where a large stone cross stands at the head of a horizontal slab;

* It was chosen, because Byzantium was saved from a night attack of Philip, by the moon coming out, and revealing the approach of the enemy. Our Richard I. adopted it, in the royal seal, after his wars in Palestine against the Moslems.

† Armorial bearings, properly so called, were first used about the middle of the twelfth century; and they became hereditary about the beginning of the thirteenth.

and I have been assured that the date 1627 has been found, on one of the later monuments at Lovrich.

The greatest number of these tombs is at Cisto, where I counted from ninety to a hundred, all placed as usual about E. S. E. They have the same kind of conventional emblems, and rude sculptures of warriors and huntsmen, with the crescent, and occasionally the cross, but without inscriptions; and one only has any trace of armorial bearings, in an arm and sword.*

It would be an endless, and unprofitable task, to describe the many whimsical devices, and sculptures, on these monuments; but I must not omit a group of men, holding a girl by the hand, as the tradition of the place relates a story connected with them, and pretends that they represent one of their popular legends. According to this, a girl had long been wooed by two rival lovers, and having at length accepted one of them, was conducted home by the successful suitor; when the discarded rival snatched her from him, and maintained his claims by the sword. A fierce contest ensued; and the former, finding himself unable to recover his fair prize, thrust his sword into her breast, preferring to see her die, than fall into the hands of his rival.

Such is the story at Lovrich; but Fortis † relates

* Fig. 11.

† Fortis, pp. 69, 70.

another curious tale, connected with some of these sculptures: "Janco, Voivoda of Sebigne, who was cotemporary with the famous Scander-beg, was betrothed to Jagna of Temeswar, whose brothers, not being his friends, when he came to conclude the marriage, engaged him in the punctilio of performing certain feats, upon condition that, if he succeeded, he was to have the bride, and if not, he was to lose his life. These were, as the song relates, to pierce an apple stuck on the point of a spear, with his dart, at a certain distance; to spring over nine horses, placed one beside the other, at one leap; and lastly, to discover his future spouse, among nine young women, all covered with veils. Janco, it seems, was a valiant soldier, but not expert in such trials of skill; however, his nephew undertook them in his place, and no objection was made, as they say, is the custom in a *certain island*, to hire one to fight for another at a boxing match.

"The expedient made use of by Zeculo, Janco's nephew, to know the bride among the other nine young women, was singular. He spread his mantle on the ground, threw a handful of gold rings on it, and then gallantly addressed the ladies as follows: 'Lovely maid, who art destined to be Janco's wife, do thou pick up these golden rings, and wear them; but if any other dares to touch one of them, I will cut off her arm at a blow.' The nine damsels were very naturally afraid of the danger, and did not

choose to advance; so Janco's bride collected the rings, and thus the nuptial games were finished.

"When, upon trials of this nature, one of the parties found himself excluded, and another preferred, as he thought, unjustly, he commonly had recourse to arms for redress; and much blood was often shed in those combats; and many of the tombs of the ancient Slavi are still to be seen in the woods, and desert places, of Morlacchia, whereon these feuds are engraved in coarse bas-relief."

These tombs are the principal objects of interest, between Imoschi and Cisto; but report speaks of an old Roman road, near Lovrich, which goes to Runovich and Narona; where the tracks of chariot wheels are said to be traced upon the rock. The ignorance of my guide, the delay caused by a bad road, and the examination of the tombs, prevented my searching for it; and we were forced to take refuge for some time, from the rain and sweeping cold wind*, beneath the wall of the church at Lovrich, without scouring the country on a doubtful errand.

On the western road from Lovrich, by Opanche to Catunie, are three heaps of stones, thirty-eight feet apart, which are much talked of by the credulous. They are called *Scácala Kraglievichi*, being thought to mark the "*leaps*" of Marco Kraglievich, the celebrated hero of Studenza †,

* The force of the wind in Dalmatia was noted in ancient times.

† Near Imoschi.

famed in Illyric poetry, and sometimes confounded with Scander-beg. Marco Kraglievich, or as he is often called, King Marco *, is, to the Dalmatian poets, what King Arthur, Rolando, and Antar, are to English, French, or Italian, and Arab story; his name is sung on all great occasions of rejoicing, and his terrific appearance is thus described:

> "Marco de' Re' sul suo destrier cavalca;
> Una vipera in man per briglia tiene,
> L' altra di spron gli serve:" †

traditions respecting his deeds are therefore very uncertain; and simple matter of fact reduces his "leaps" to three of the sepulchral mounds found in these parts.

At the tombs of Cisto is a tumulus, similar to those of Herzegóvina; which, from one of the slabs having been placed upon it, shows that the tumuli are of earlier date than the stone tombs.

A ride of forty minutes brought us to the village of Cisto, where I was not sorry to take shelter in the abode of a Morlacco, named Kegagl, who enjoys the distinguishing title of *Capitano*, from his influence and wealth, and to whom I had a letter. With all his riches, Kegagl retains the simple habits of a *Morlacco*, and though hospitable, and willing to make his house comfortable to a guest, his habits and arrangements are of the most

* *Kraglievich* means "*Son of the King*," or "*Fitz-roy*."

† Translated from the Illyric, Lovrich, p. 131.

primitive kind. This added not a little to their interest; and I was glad to have an opportunity of seeing the customs, and mode of life, of a rich Dalmatian peasant.

The prospect of a fire was also welcome, after the cold and rain, the light of which beamed from the door of a small room, that might be called his boudoir. But the first difficulty was to prevail on the many hostile dogs, to allow us to enter the court-yard; they were not even pacified, by the interference of the inmates of the house; and it was not till numerous vollies of stones, and as many abusive names, had been showered by them upon these faithful guards, that we were smuggled in, and rescued from their teeth.

Dogs are said "to bark at beggars," but the most ragged could not excite the ire of *Morlacco* dogs, to the same extent as a Frank dress; and I thought they would have gone off in a fit, or have choked with rage, at my unusual appearance. I should have felt little regret at such a catastrophe, except that it might have had a fatal effect on the good feelings of mine host; and I was satisfied with my ultimate arrival before a fire. But the blaze we had seen was a gay deceiver. All the dry wood, that could be found, was exhausted, and the rain had so drenched the remaining stock, that nothing would induce it to burn; the room, too, had no chimney; and the smoke, leaving no crevice untried, invaded every nose and eye it could find, so

that, despite the cold, I was obliged, every now and then, to fly to the door, and gasp for breath.

I was invited to recline on a bench, opposite that occupied by the master of the house. They were the best, perhaps the only, *divans* at Cisto, and, being covered with a sheep-skin, were supposed to be furnished.

While in a doubtful state of threatened suffocation, scarcely able to answer the many questions about England, its being an island, and positively distinct from France, its ships, and its machinery, I felt a rough hairy skin move by my hand, and found that the dogs had taken advantage of the dense smoke, to join the party over the fire. No growl betrayed any further dislike of my dress; they felt conscious of being themselves the greatest intruders; and no sooner were they discovered, than they became painfully convinced of this fact, being treated to a liberal bastinado, and banished to the court-yard.

By dint of blowing, the wood at length began to burn, and I perceived that we were in a room, just broad enough for the two benches, and the hearth between them. One voice, that had acted as interpreter, was found to proceed from a young man, the nephew of the Capitano, who was a solitary instance of an individual speaking Italian at Cisto; the other belonged to a sheep, who occupied the remaining half of the apartment. It was no wonder he gave signs of impatience,

being nearly choked with the smoke, and enjoying none of the advantages of the fire.

After an interval, which appeared endless, supper was announced, and we repaired to another room, where, on a large and long table, surrounded by forms, appeared some isolated dishes. There was no fire; but, though cold, it was a relief not to have a repetition of the smoke; and I was enabled to see some substantial women, the ladies of the house, preparing to wait upon us, one of whom was remarkably handsome. This custom, of performing the office of servants, is universal with the Morlacche women; who, as Professor Carrara observes, "wait, but do not sit, at table; their own repast being taken afterwards, alone; the youngest, if they are not seated near the fire, lighting the others as they sit, with a blazing piece of fir wood." *

The whole Morlacco mansion, and it was one of unusual size, consisted of a ground floor and two upper rooms, approached from the outside by a double flight of stone steps; the boudoir, bedroom, or sheep-pen, of the host being a separate edifice; and as an ordinary Morlacco house consists of one single room, in which the whole family live, whatever may be their number, some notion may be formed of the palace-like superiority of Kegagl's mansion, over the usual hovels of the Morlacchi.

* Professor Carrara's Dalmazia descritta, p. 147.; a beautiful work now publishing, the merits of which are sufficiently guaranteed by the name of the author.

Each room was provided with two beds, not excepting the dining-room; which, soon after we had ascended to it, I found was allotted to me; and while I was speculating on the probable occupant of the second bed, I was not a little comforted by being told I was to have the whole to myself.

Every thing that civility could suggest was done to welcome me; the fare was of course rustic, but then the supper was an impromptu, and all deficiency was thought to be compensated for by abundance of wine. It was already very late, and supper did not keep any of the party long at table. The discomfort of the day's journey, the wet, cold, and smoke, made me glad enough to retire to my straw-stuffed bed, which appeared unusually comfortable and clean; and fatigue prevented my making any statistical observations on the population.

The village of Cisto stands on the slope of low hills, in the midst of oaks, which grow on all the high ground in the neighbourhood; and in the rocky barren plain below, to the westward, on the way to Douáré, are a few straggling trees, bushes, and briars. This we crossed next morning, and I was not sorry to reach the Valley of the Cettina, where, descending, at Radoboglie, we joined the main road from Gráboaz.

The town, or village, of Gráboaz* is one of the many places, that dispute the honour of being the birth-place of St. Jerome, which is given by some

* Or Grabovatz, meaning "place of the *grave*."

to Strigovo* in the same neighbourhood; though it must be confessed that Stridon, in Pannonia, has a far better claim; which the doubts, raised respecting the exact position of that town, have not been able to invalidate. But the mystery, that hangs over his birth-place, has perhaps added a charm to the discussion; and more books have been written, and more learning has been displayed on the subject, than on many of greater utility. Still St. Jerome, like Homer, is contended for by various towns; and the next learned work on this important question may furnish us with a catalogue, in hexameter, like the "Smyrna, ... Argos, Athenæ," ending perhaps in the unclassical, and unpoetical, names of "Strigovo, Graboatsque."

The Valley of the Cettina is pretty, and fertile. On one side rises the lofty Biócovo, and the view to the northward is very extensive. Three hours from Cisto brought us to Douáré, on the other side of the valley. It consists of twenty or thirty houses, and stands at the base of a craggy rock, whose rugged edge is fringed with the walls, and towers, of a ruined castle, of Turkish time; which, from its position, was once a very important place, and was not taken by the Venetians till 1646. Here the mountain range opens; and the road, ascending to the outworks of the castle, winds round the projecting ridge, and descends on the other side, beneath its precipitous cliffs.

* Ciccarelli, p. 90.

Two roads go from Douáré to the sea, both remarkable for grand scenery; one to Vrulia, the ancient Peguntium, half way between Almissa and Macarska, passing by Prosik; the other to Almissa, following the Valley of the Cettina. The pass of Prosik is wild and picturesque, lying between lofty precipices, which, from their height, and the narrowness of the passage, have a very imposing effect; but the other, to Almissa, has the advantage of combining rock, wood, and water; and the road is better, and more practicable.

Immediately below Douáré, the Cettina forces its way through lofty rocks, and falls in two cascades into the valley below; where it continues its course to the sea, winding round the bases of many a rugged cliff, on its way to Almissa. The falls consist of an upper, and lower, cascade, called the Great and Small *Gúbovitza**; the latter seen from the road, the other only approachable from above; and this part of the Cettina offers a succession of wild, and beautiful, views, till it reaches the sea.

Passing the rocky ridge of Ivinishie, near the spring and village of *Dobra Vódé*†, our road lay close to the side of the river, immediately under the steep side of Mount Dinara; and after winding round the bluff rocks, that rise perpendicularly above the stream, barely leaving room for the road, we came in sight of Almissa.

Its position, at the mouth of the Cettina, the

* *Vela*, and *mala*, *Guboviza*. † "Good water."

height of the mountains above, and the abrupt precipices that overhang the river and the castle, with the sea beyond, offer numerous subjects for the pencil; and its early history, and celebrity as the resort of pirates, who long defied the power of Venice, render Almissa a place of more than usual interest. The mountain range, on the opposite side of the Cettina, is also remarkable for the singular republic of Poglizza*, which existed there for ages, in the midst of the convulsions, caused by the wars of Venice and the Porte.

The history of that republic is curious. With a circumference of about forty Italian miles, its territory occupied the space, contained between the bend of the Cettina at Douáré, and the small stream of Xernóvnizza, extending over the mountain range, and elevated vallies, of Mount Mossor, and comprising the sea coast to the north of Almissa.

It contained twelve towns, or villages†, with a population of about 4000 souls; the capital being Scoçibue, or Gatta, where the *Veli-sbor*, or "Great Council," was held. This assembly met in the open

* Poglizza signifies a "small field," from Poglie, or Pole, "a field."

† Afterwards subdivided into seventeen. They were, 1. Xernóvnizza, Sitno, and Strignine; 2. Dolaz inferiore; 3. Dolaz superiore and Trambúsi; 4. Dubráva; 5. Postrana; 6. Gessenizza; 7. Duchie (Duçie); 8. Túgari; 9. Scoçibue, or Gatta (the capital); 10. Cisla, and Ostrovizza; 11. Zakúsaz; 12. Costagne and Krásevich.

air; and a stone is still shown which marks the spot. One town, within the district, was for some time excluded from the Republic. This was Podgráie, which, from the Roman remains there, seems always to have been a place of importance; and which, with its castle, had been occupied by the Turks, when in possession of Douáré. The country, however, was at no period subject to them; its natural strength enabled the Poglizzans to maintain their independence; and they wisely established a friendly intercourse with those troublesome neighbours. Many privileges were consequently granted them by the Porte, and treaties were made with several Sultans, and local Governors; copies of which are still extant, in Turkish, and in their own Slavonic language.

The origin of this Republic dates from the period, when civil wars raged in Dalmatia, and various families, to escape persecution, took refuge in the solitary fastnesses of Mt. Mossor; whose numbers were afterwards increased by other emigrants, at the time of the Turkish invasion. Their first rights were granted them by the kings of Hungary, and the same were afterwards confirmed to them by the Republic of St. Mark; which made many important concessions, on condition that they should pay an annual tribute (of about 25*l.*) and supply the Venetians with a certain number of men, in case of need, for the protection of the neighbouring villages. They also furnished a body of mercenary troops, for

the garrisons of Spalato, Träù, and other places, in 1575.

The chief person in the Republic was the *Véliki Kniaz* ("Great Count"). He was assisted, in the management of affairs, by six members of council; one of whom was the *Voivoda* (captain-general, or commander of the troops); another the vicar-general, or head of the church; and another the *cancelliere*, or secretary. These constituted the Government. They decided on all affairs of importance, touching the welfare of the state; gave a last decision in appeals; and had the power of life and death. There were also twelve inferior counts, or representative chiefs, of the twelve villages; who, when any measure was required, for the benefit of their constituents, invited the Great Count, and the several members of Government, to meet together with the other eleven chiefs. This assembly was called the *Véliki Sbor*, "Great Council;" but when any question, affecting the general welfare of the country, was under discussion, all the people had a right to deliberate, and give their opinion.

The office of Great Count was elective; but the candidates were obliged to belong to certain families of Poglizza, originally from Hungary; who always held the highest rank: and next to them were the Bosnian families, from whom the *Voivoda* was chosen; and these privileges were granted them,

from their having been the first to establish their authority in the Republic.

At the election of the Great Count, the remaining members of the Government, with the twelve inferior Counts, assembled in the open air, on a certain spot, a short distance from the chief town, Scoçibue or Gatta, at the side of Mount Mossor. There, upon the bare rock, a large flat stone, about twelve feet square, and about three feet high, stood on a rough pedestal; and the new Count, dressed in his robes, having been placed upon it, received the investiture of his office. The election was not always settled, without a display of violent party-feeling; and Fortis and Catalinich give a curious account of the proceedings, that sometimes took place on this occasion. "After having canvassed the votes underhand, one of the boldest partisans lays hold of the box, containing the privileges of the community, which is the deposit annually committed to the care of the Great Count: he runs with the box, towards the house of him, for whom he is engaged, and every member of the diet has a right to pursue him with stones, knives, and fire-arms, and may make use of that right to its full extent. If the man takes his measures well, and gets safe to the house proposed with the box, the Great Count is duly elected, and none dares make further opposition."*

Some rare instances occurred, of the Great Count

* Fortis, p. 252.

having been chosen from a Bosnian family; but the prejudices of the people were greatly opposed to this departure from general custom; it was believed that some calamity was sure to befal the Republic, when governed by a Bosnian Count; and Andrea Ciovich, who held that post, when Poglizza was invaded by the French, is said to have been of a Bosnian family. He was the last Count of Poglizza, and was fortunate enough to escape to Russia; but his country felt the full extent of French vengeance; and the few of his family who remain are now in a state of utter destitution. In 1807 the Republic of Poglizza "ceased to exist;" and it has since formed part of Dalmatia.

In the list of the later Counts, which I saw at Almissa, the names were nearly all Hungarian, and that of Sinovcich frequently occurred; but it only went back as far as 1566, in the time of Gallich, surnamed Agostinovich.

The inferior Counts were chosen by electors, deputed by the inhabitants of the villages; and the office, like that of the *Véliki Kniaz*, lasted only one year.

The clergy were very numerous in Poglizza, and there was scarcely a family that had not one or more priests among its members; but they did not embrace the profession, in order to avoid the duties performed by the rest of the community; and after the celebration of mass, they returned to direct the plough, or handle the hoe, and superintend the

cultivation of the land. And it is to the superior knowledge they possessed, over the generality of peasants, that the productiveness of the fields, and the excellence of the fruit, in Poglizza, are mainly to be attributed; which far surpassed any in other parts of Dalmatia.*

This superiority still continues, despite the misfortunes of the people, and the cruel devastation of their country; their lands are well cultivated; corn, vines, olives, and other fruits, are in great abundance, and of excellent quality; and the apples of Poglizza keep up the reputation of the "*Mala Dalmata.*"

Though the Poglizzans were of the Roman Catholic church, they always enjoyed the privilege, granted to other Slavonians in Dalmatia, of performing the church service in the Glagolitic language; and as the clergy, in later times, were educated at the school of Priko, near Almissa, whither young men resorted from all parts of Dalmatia, and even from Bosnia, to pursue their theological studies, they had the advantage of associating with a superior class of students, and the education they received tended to raise them above the level of ordinary priests, in other mountain districts.

"The laws of the Poglizans and their procedures," says Fortis, "retain somewhat of the barbarous age, in which they were compiled; yet some of them are very reasonable. If there hap-

* Catalinich, vol. iv. p. 116.

pens to be any litigation about land, the judge goes to the spot, and hears both parties, sitting on the ground with his own cloak spread under him; he decides the cause before he rises, and generally to the satisfaction of both parties.

"When a Poglizan is killed by one of his countrymen, the Count, or Governor, of the village, attended by the principal people, goes to the house of the murderer, and there they eat, drink, and plunder what they like best. After this ceremony, notice is given to the Great Count, who also repairs without delay to the same place, and consumes every thing that remains. If the murder is not attended by some atrocious circumstance, the penalty is forty dollars, which make about the value of eight sequins; this contribution is called *Karvarina*, that is, bloodshed, or price of blood. In former times, murderers were condemned to be stoned to death; but at present they are liable only to pecuniary punishments, because the Great Count is unwilling to expose his own sentence to an appeal to the Governor-General of Dalmatia; yet sometimes the criminal is stoned directly after the fact is committed, and so no time is left to appeal.

"Proofs by fire, and boiling water, are still in use among those people, and the victims are sometimes seen disabled, and half-roasted. The Poglizans have another kind of torture, that is at least equal to any of the analogous inhuman inventions, among

politer nations; they put splinters of pine between the nails and flesh of those accused of certain crimes, but never make use of any other wood, because their statute prescribes this species alone.

"Notwithstanding these traits of legal barbarity, the Poglizans are humane, hospitable, and good friends, when they have no ground for suspicion. Their ignorance renders them diffident in some cases; hence it is impossible for strangers to get information from them, about any thing that might engage their curiosity, or to inspect ancient records; and they are always afraid that a stranger who can read, is a digger for hidden treasures." *

Fortis considers that the peculiar affection shown by this people to San Vito, may be traced to the worship of the Slavonic God, *Vid*, by their Pagan ancestors; and suggests that the hamlet in Poglizza, called *Pirun-Dubrava*, "the (oak) wood of *Pirun*," may derive its name from the idol Pirun †; which is not improbable, as the conversion of heathen deities into saints is not an uncommon occurrence, in many countries.

The costume of the Poglizzans varies very little from that of the other *Morlacchi;* and now that they are merged in the same community with the rest of the Dalmatians, their customs and distinguishing peculiarities are gradually passing away. But they still speak with satisfaction of their

* Fortis, p. 253.

† See above, Vol. I. p. 18., and Fortis, p. 254.

former independence, which they are thought to show, in a certain degree of pride, and loftiness of manner; they are considered shrewd, and intelligent, cunning, and fond of litigation; and strangers are often surprised at the talent displayed in pleading a cause, even by many who have never received an education.

Those, however, who have confounded them with the Uscocs, have most unjustly libelled the Poglizzans: the appellation of "Uscocchi-Poglizzani"* is a misnomer; and neither the institutions, the habits, nor the character, of this industrious people, deserve that they should be confounded with those lawless ruffians; and the maintenance of their liberty, in the midst of arbitrary and powerful neighbours, entitles them to our respect, as their downfal does to our commiseration.†

Almissa, which stands close to the sea, on the opposite, or southern, bank of the Cettina, is supposed to occupy the site of Ciclodium ‡, or of Onœum, though it possesses no remains of Roman time. At Starigrad ("the old City") some broken vases, tiles, and other relics, have been discovered, but no ruins; and it is uncertain where the inscription was found, which once stood in the

* Probably owing to their having been at one time governed by the Kadcich (Kacich), in the thirteenth century, who encouraged the pirates of Almissa. See below, page 205.

† See the History in Chapter IX.

‡ Farlati (iii. p. 13.) supposes of "Piguntium."

walls of Almissa, and is now preserved at the *Commune.**

It was long celebrated as the resort of pirates, particularly in the thirteenth century, when the injuries inflicted by them, on the commerce of Venice, roused that Republic to make strenuous efforts to reduce the place. But their attacks on the Venetian traders were not made, without calculating on the vengeance they provoked; and the Almissans took the precaution of building a wall † across the mouth of the Cettina, so constructed, that no one ignorant of the passage could venture to approach it; knowing that, as long as the river was secure, the position of the town sufficed to guarantee them against an attack.

The Almissans first came into notice in the twelfth century, when they united with the Narentines, in attacking the trade and islands of the Adriatic, and committed great depredations in the territory of Spalato, and other parts of the coast. The town had been fortified by Andrew, son of Bela III., King of Hungary ‡, when Governor of Dalmatia, to overawe the islands of Brazza and Lesina; and during the war between the Hun-

* All that remains of it is, AVRELIVS
NIGRINVS
ÆRC · AVG ·
CRATERE
There is another on a house with the date 1594.

† It was called *La Porporella;* and was like the "*Scagni*" of Venice.

‡ Catalinich, iii. p. 23.

garians and Venetians, the assistance rendered by the Almissans to the former, obtained for them important privileges. (1207.)

At the time that Andrew left Spalato for the Holy Land, in 1217, Almissa was governed by Malduc, chief of the family of Kacich *, who had assumed almost sovereign authority in the mountains of Poglizza, and the Primorie of Macarsca. Under him, the Almissans became the scourge of the Adriatic; and, despite the commands of the King of Hungary, he openly encouraged their piracies. The league entered into by Spalato, Träù, and Sebenico, for protection against them, and the interference of Acconcio, the Papal Legate, in 1221, checked, for a time, their depredations; till, about fifty years afterwards, finding themselves encouraged by the powerful Counts of Bribir, of the family of Subich, who shared their spoils, they infested the whole of the Adriatic; sparing neither the poor pilgrims on their way to the Holy Land, nor the rich merchants; and rendered themselves formidable, in spite of the power of Venice, and the repeated remonstrances of the Hungarian kings.

The possessions of the Counts of Bribir, in Dalmatia and Croatia, the influence they acquired among the rulers of the maritime cities, and the favour they enjoyed with the kings of Hungary, secured those they patronised from any decided opposition; and such was their interest, even at

* Kadcich, or Cacich. See Farlati, iii. p. 249., and i. p. 229.

Rome, that, through them, Sebenico obtained from Pope Boniface VIII., in 1298, the privilege of becoming an Episcopal See, though opposed by the Bishop of Träù, to whose diocese it had hitherto belonged.*

Some of the Counts of Bribir became Bans of Dalmatia and Croatia; at one time, they obtained possession of most of the maritime cities; and, in 1303, they enabled Maria of Naples to maintain her son's pretensions to the crown of Hungary.

Such was the important protection enjoyed by the Almissans. They also obtained the countenance of the Dukes of Santo-Saba, who had a palace at Almissa; and though the Venetians succeeded in destroying many of their ships, and, in 1278, having obtained possession of the town, obliged them to enter into a treaty to abstain from piracy; no effectual check could be given them, so long as the Counts of Bribir continued powerful; and the disturbed state of affairs that followed afforded them a fresh opportunity of continuing their depredations. They even united with the Uscocs, in attacking the Venetian trade. At length, in 1387, Tuartko, King of Bosnia, took Almissa; and his successor Ostoya having given it to the Counts Vucich, it fell (in 1420) once more into the hands of the Venetians, who placed it under the jurisdiction of a Provveditore, with permission to the inhabitants to enjoy their own municipal

* Catalinich, pp. 45. 47. 50—64.

laws; and, in 1444—1452, the Doge Francesco Foscari having granted them various immunities, on the recovery of Dalmatia from the Hungarians, it was converted from a mere fort into a small town, containing a population of industrious inhabitants. For, until it was enlarged by the Venetians, the whole of Almissa stood within the small space about the Duomo, called Smokvitza.

On the southern wall is the winged lion of St. Mark, with the date 1678; recording two bygone events, the dominion of Venice, and the necessity of defences against the Turks, who, at one time, advanced to the cemetery, within a hundred yards of this wall. On a rock, above the town, is the small castle of *Mirabella;* and on the craggy mountain above, is the larger fortress of *Starigrad*, which, masked by projecting cliffs, is not seen from Almissa, and which is thought to have taken its name from an "*old town*," that stood below. It contributed, however, to the security of Almissa; commanding, as it did, the approach on two sides; and they show a heap of stones, beneath the mountain, called *Tzareva Gomila*, "the royal masonry," *said* to mark the spot, where a Turkish *Sultan* was killed. Another fort, called Vissech, about three miles to the south of Almissa, completed the defences of this part of the country.

Almissa is subject to earthquakes; and I saw the walls of many houses rent by that, which happened the year before my visit. It stands at

the base of the high precipitous rocks of Mount Dinara; and on the west is a low flat tongue of land, bathed on two sides by the sea, and on the other by the Cettina. This has been formed by deposits from the river; and as it is still subject to floods, and is partly a marsh, it makes the town unhealthy in summer; and fevers are prevalent in that season. They show the site of the old arsenal, outside the walls, and at the S.W. corner was a large Venetian round tower, which terminated the line of works from the river to the sea.

Under the Venetians, the town had a population of 1014 inhabitants, but that small number is now reduced to 755; the castles are all dismantled, and in ruins, and the garrison is limited to eighteen Hungarians. The people are all Roman Catholics.

Almissa is famous for its Vin di Rosa, one of the most esteemed wines in Dalmatia; but it has very little commerce; and though the Cettina is navigable for large vessels, the passage of the mouth is not free, and boats only are able to pass into it from the sea.

In the cathedral they show some relics, and sacred objects; among which is an *ostensorio*, or *pyx*, for holding the consecrated wafer. It is of rock crystal, and is said to have been carried off by some Almissan pirates, from a Benedictine convent, in the Isle of Trimiti, on the opposite coast of Puglia; who landing one afternoon, obtained permission, from the monks, to lodge in an

outhouse attached to the convent, upon pretence that one of them was dangerously ill. Next day the sick man feigned death; and the monks, at the request of his companions, took the body into the church, preparatory to its burial; when at night, as soon as all was still, the pretended dead man rose, and admitted the other pirates, who murdered the monks, and carried off all the valuables they could find. Among them was this cup; which was given to the Church of their native town, to silence their consciences, or their confessors, and which now figures among the sacred objects of the Cathedral of Almissa. Some suppose it was this sacrilegious act that led to the excommunication of the Almissans by Acconcio, the papal legate; but the date of this occurrence, A. D. 1222, was probably much earlier than the robbery of the pyx*; and the convent of Tremiti was not the only one robbed by the Almissans.

Many families at Almissa are of Hungarian, or of Bosnian, extraction; and one of the most distinguished, as in the days of Fortis, is that of Count *Caralipeo* †, originally Despotovich, one

* Perhaps this excommunication was in consequence of their having welcomed the doctrines of the Paterènes, then prevalent in Dalmatia and Bosnia, to check which Acconcio (Aconcius) was sent in 1222, by Pope Honorius III., into those countries. See Farlati, vol. iv. pp. 47. and 290. See above, pp. 109., and 205.

† This name might be supposed of Turkish origin, as *Kara* means "black" in that language; but *Kara* is also a Slavonic

member of which was related by marriage to Bajazet I. On the exterior of the church of Santo Spirito is a coat of arms, supposed to be of the Herzog Stephen of Santo Saba, to whom they ascribe the erection of the fortress of Starigrad; but the date of the arms appears to be much more recent; and it is not probable that they would have been left there by the Venetians.

Outside the town, to the southward, is the cemetery, in which I observed some old tombs, said to be of Greeks. Some have pointed summits, and others a flat slab. With difficulty I could decipher this inscription on one of them: —

"Sepultura Stephani Doinovich, suisque heredibus, et posteritatibus. MDXI."

The family of Doinovich came from the Isle of Brazza; that of Descoevich, whose name and arms appear on another tomb, is one of the extinct houses of Almissa; and it is evident that these monuments are either of a later date than generally attributed to them, or were usurped by their last owners. In the same burial-ground is another inscription, in a strange character, in which a Russian is said to have read the name of Knez (Count) Zoanich.

Similar tombs are said to be found on the opposite side of the river, at Priko; but they bear no resemblance to those of Loquicich and Cisto.

word, meaning "punishment," and indicative of sovereign power. See Vol. I. p. 26.

Beyond the cemetery is a convent, of the minor Franciscans; and the church, dedicated to the Vergine del Carmine, boasts a figure of the Saviour on the cross, which is well carved in wood; and a smaller one of the Virgin; with some others of saints, of inferior workmanship.

When, in 1807, the Russians were endeavouring to raise the population of the coast against the French, they landed, and took possession of Almissa; which, being cut off, by the Cettina, from all communication with the district of Spalato, promised to be an excellent *point d'appui* for their operations. In vain did the French cannonade the town from the opposite heights, above Priko; the want of boats, and the presence of the Russian fleet, prevented the passage of the river; and it was not till a force had been sent round by Douáré, to occupy the heights of Mount Dinara, that they could be dislodged.

After a short stay at Almissa, I left it for Spalato, not without regretting, that I was unable to see the many interesting places in the neighbourhood, and enjoy, a few days longer, the hospitality of Dr. and Signora Camber.

The communication with the right bank of the Cettina is kept up by a ferry; and the road to Spalato runs along the sea shore, beneath the mountains that once formed part of the Poglizzan territory. At Priko was the celebrated school of theology, now abandoned. It had been originally

a convent of Franciscans, and was afterwards converted into a school; which flourished until the death of Don Pietro Crusevich, under whom it attained its greatest celebrity. Near it is a ruined Greek church; which recals the style of those at Athens; but there are no longer any Greek Christians at Almissa.

A good carriage road goes to Spalato, a distance of eighteen miles. All it wants are carriages to run on it, which are only to be obtained at Spalato, and other large towns. The most remarkable village on the way is Stobretz; perched on a rocky promontory projecting into the sea; which has succeeded to the ancient Epetium. It has no remains of antiquity, except some sarcophagi, probably of late Roman time. Here the French commenced their operations against Poglizza: they first occupied the bridge in the plain over the Xernovnitza, and having carried the village of Stobretz, turned the position of Balkun, and forced the Poglizzans, who gallantly defended it with 400 Russians, to take refuge on board the fleet; and this defeat ended in the destruction of the Republic of Poglizza.

From the bridge you perceive the village of "*Kámen*" or "*Sasso*," so called from its isolated rock, which once performed its part in the wars of Dalmatia, and was one of the "eyes," or advanced posts, of Spalato.* The more distant fortress of

* See the History in Chapter IX., and above, Vol. I. p. 118.

Clissa then comes in sight; and after passing the citadel, or fort of Grippi, you reach the eastern gate of Spalato; where those who wish to escape a broken neck, or the maledictions of the people, alight from their horses; for neither the slippery pavement, nor the habits of the Spalatines, make it agreeable to ride through the narrow streets.

The cold of winter had now set in; and I found it was too late to visit the other places, I had intended to include in my tour of the country; I therefore left Spalato, after a halt of rather more than a month, for Trieste, in the beginning of January; and returned to Corfu.

On the way we touched at Ancona; but such was the badness of the Dalmatian coal used by the Austrian steamers, that we were unable to make any way against a head wind; and I once more found myself on the Dalmatian coast, where we were forced to take refuge from the gale at Sebenico. Our detention was not long, and the cessation of the storm enabled us to continue our voyage; but if any proof was wanting, this sufficed to show how unwise it is of the Austrian company, to persist in the use of inferior coal, and how easy and advantageous a communication would be between Dalmatia and the Ionian Isles. Another communication might also be advantageously established by the English, from Corfu through Albania, to the inland parts of Turkey, as it would open a channel for commerce with those countries; for which purpose it would

be necessary to make Corfu a free port; and though 110,000*l.*, the amount of duties, might be thereby sacrificed, that loss would soon be fully compensated, by the benefits resulting from a new outlet for British manufactures.

In the imperfect sketch I have given, of Dalmatia and Montenegro, I have abstained from introducing more than was necessary of a subject, which is, at this moment, becoming one of great interest and importance; the past and present condition of the Slavonic races, and the probable part they will perform in the history of Europe.

I may, however, be permitted to observe that any one, who is sufficiently interested in the question, will find an ample field for inquiry, in some of the Slavonic provinces of Turkey; and a large blank in the history of Europe, during the dark ages, may be supplied, by tracing the inroads of the Slavonic race upon the provinces of the Byzantine empire.

Their present condition, indeed, and the effect they are likely to have, on the condition of South-eastern Europe, are subjects for attentive consideration; and time will decide whether Russia knows how to profit by the sympathies of the Slavonic populations; or whether they will unite, to form a distinct nation. Much, it is thought, will depend on the present Panslavistic * movement; and the independent, and enthusiastic, wishes of many Sla-

* Or more properly Panslavic.

vonians may lead to better results than the support, and aggrandisement, of Russia.

The idea of Panslavism had a purely literary origin. It was started * by Kollar, a Protestant clergyman of the Slavonic congregation at Pesth, in Hungary; who wished to establish a national literature, by circulating all works, written in the various Slavonic dialects, through every country where any of them was spoken. He suggested, that all the Slavonic literati should become acquainted with the sister dialects, so that a Bohemian, or other, work might be read on the shores of the Adriatic, as well as on the banks of the Volga, or any other place where the Slavonic language was spoken; by which means an extensive literature might be created, tending to advance knowledge in all Slavonic countries; and he supported his arguments by observing, that the dialects of ancient Greece differed from each other, like those of his own language, and yet that they formed only one Hellenic literature.

The idea of an intellectual union of all those nations naturally led to that of a political one; and the Slavonians, seeing that their numbers amounted to about a third part of the whole population of Europe, and occupied more than half its territory, began to be sensible that they might claim for themselves a position, to which they had not hitherto aspired.

* Krasinski.

The opinion gained ground; and the question now is, whether the Slavonians can form a nation independent of Russia; or whether they ought to rest satisfied in being part of one great race, with the most powerful member of it as their chief.* The latter, indeed, is gaining ground amongst them; and some Poles are disposed to attribute their sufferings to the arbitrary will of the Czar, without extending the blame to the Russians themselves. These begin to think that, if they cannot exist as Poles, the best thing to be done is to rest satisfied with a position in the Slavonic Empire, and they hope that, when once they give up the idea of restoring their country, Russia may grant some concessions to their separate nationality.

The same idea has been put forward by writers in the Russian interest; great efforts are making among other Slavonic people, to induce them to look upon Russia as their future head; and she has already gained considerable influence over the Slavonic populations of Turkey.

Those, however, who are the most animated by a love of independence, and a regard for national rights, consider it unworthy of them to become tools in the hands of an ambitious power; they advocate the idea of establishing a confederation of Slavonic States; and think that the regeneration of their race should be entrusted to those who have

* This feeling has not extended to Dalmatia, except amongst some of those of the Greek church.

in past times shown a regard for the free institutions of Slavonians, rather than to the Russians, who have disregarded the nationality of the populations they have absorbed in their gigantic empire.

It might be difficult to form a separate nation, in the midst, and in spite, of powerful kingdoms, whose real, or supposed, interests would lead them to interfere; some have therefore thought, since the Hungarians have shown so much hostility to the Slovaks, Croatians, and others connected with them, that Austria, half Slavonian as she is *, might be induced to put herself at the head of a Slavonic movement; while some foresee the possibility of establishing a Slavonic empire, on the ruins of Turkey. That they would be better suited to take the place of the worn-out Turks than the Greeks, who are given to dream of Constantinople as their capital, is true; and a Christian successor to those Moslem intruders might appear a desirable event, when not entailing the cession of the Turkish capital to the Czar; but the attainment of such a result is far from probable; and the current of Panslavism seems doomed to merge into the main stream of Russian influence, unless a common feeling in favour of liberty unites the Germans with the Slavonic populations.

It will be interesting to watch the turn taken by this movement, or by the policy of Russia. The Russians are enacting much the same part, as the

* She has 16,701,000 Slavonian subjects.

Macedonians of old; and the means then used, to excite the Greeks against the enemy of their race, may find a counterpart in those, now beginning to be employed to rouse the prejudices of the Slavonians. Like the "*Regale Numisma*" of Philip, the gold of Russia performs its part; and the fear for Europe is not, as Napoleon * suggested, when a "bearded Czar" shall wield the sceptre, but when Russia shall possess wealth enough to further her projects, and shall command the co-operation of the Slavonic populations. On the other hand, there is reason to believe, that the liberty of Europe will not be endangered by the increasing power of Russia: she has an encroaching, rather than an invading, tendency; she is unassailable herself, but her system of government, her social condition, and the difficulty she has in keeping up a large army at a distance from home, prevent her being formidable to any but her immediate neighbours; many of the Slavonians are not disposed subserviently to perform a part, to suit her purposes; and so long as the other states of Europe are true to their own interests, no fear need be entertained from the magnitude of her Empire.†

* Of the two alternatives, mentioned by him, of Europe becoming either Cossack, or Republican, the former seems, from recent events, to be by far the least probable.

† Since writing the above, new events have occurred, which may materially change the state of affairs in Eastern Europe; but there is the same reason to believe that much will depend on the conduct of the German and Slavonic populations.

CHAP. IX.

HISTORY OF DALMATIA, FROM THE ARRIVAL OF THE SLAVONIANS TO THE PEACE OF 1814.

The Avars expelled by the Slavonians, or Slavi. — Rule of the Byzantine Emperors.—Dukes of Dalmatia. — The Franks. — Kings of Dalmatia. — Narentines; their Piracies; conquered by the Venetians. — The Doge takes the title of Duke of Dalmatia. — The Croatian Kings. — The Hungarians come into Dalmatia; — Coloman; — their Contests with Venice. — Träù taken by the Venetians. — Zara; — is besieged. — The Templars. — Great Siege of Zara. — St. Francis. — Tartar Invasion. — Free Cities. — Zara besieged and taken; rebels; besieged again. — Louis of Hungary. — Zara declares in favour of Hungary; is besieged by the Venetians, and taken. — Louis becomes Master of all Dalmatia. — Maria and Elizabeth taken Prisoners. — Sigismund marries Maria of Hungary. — Stephen Tuartko, King of Bosnia. — The Turks; — they put an End to the Kingdom of Servia; — they defeat Sigismund. — Ladislas in Dalmatia. — Harvoye. — Sigismund recovers Part of Dalmatia. — Makes Peace with Venice. — Bosnia invaded by the Turks. — They obtain Possession of Bosnia and Herzegóvina. — Battle of Mohatz. — Clissa taken from the Hungarians by the Turks. — The Morlacchi. — Diary of 1571: Attacks of the Turks: Victory of Lepanto: Story of Elena Alberti and Baciccio. — Other

Venetian Documents of 1574: *The Pastrovicchii: Death of Messer Rolando: The Feretics: Story of Adelino and Maria Vornich: Mode of treating the Turks: Crafty Policy of Venice towards its Subjects: Story of Ante.* — *Treaty between Venice and Sultan Selim.* — *Clissa taken by the Uscocs, and retaken by the Turks.* — *The Uscocs.* — *Foscolo takes many Towns from the Turks, raises the Siege of Sebenico, and takes Clissa.* — *Peace of* 1669. — *Siege of Vienna.* — *Cornaro's Successes against the Turks.* — *Peace of Carlovitz.* — *Siege of Sign.* — *Peace of Passarovitz.* — *Fall of Venice.* — *Austrians in Dalmatia.* — *The French.* — *Ragusa.* — *Count Caboga's Speech.* — *The Russians and Montenegrins attack Ragusa; and take some of the Islands; they leave Dalmatia; the Treaty of Tilsit.* — *The English take Lissa; Victory off that Island.* — *English and Austrians co-operate against the French.* — *Dalmatia recovered by Austria.* — HISTORY OF THE USCOCS, *from Minucci, and Fra Paolo.*

THE events which gave rise to the occupation of Dalmatia by the Slavonians, when Heraclius, in the seventh century, invited the Chrobati * (or Croatians), and Serbs, to expel the Avars, have been mentioned.†

From that time, the population of the country became almost solely Slavonic, except in the large towns, which continued to be chiefly inhabited by Roman citizens; and few of the original Dalmatian

* Or Chorvates. A.D. 634.

† Above, Vol. I. pp. 13. 16, 17. For the early History of Dalmatia, before that time, see Appendix A.

inhabitants were to be found, except in the islands, and in some of the cities on the coast. The country, however, was still under the dominion of the Byzantine Emperor, and the Governor, who retained the title of Prætor, was charged to receive the tribute in his name, and remit it to Constantinople. But at the beginning of the ninth century, the whole of Dalmatia, with the exception of the maritime towns, ceased to be under the protection of the Greek court, and the Slavonic tribes, breaking off their allegiance, became independent of the empire.

After the loss of Ravenna, which had been the residence of the Præfects of the Adriatic, Zara became the capital of the province; it was selected to be the station of the Greek fleet; and the Præfects received the title of Dukes of Dalmatia. These arrangements, however, were of short duration, and the maritime towns were not long in following the example of the rest of Dalmatia.

The first Duke, whom we find mentioned, is that Paul, who went with Bishop Donatus as ambassador to Charlemagne. According to Lucio, it is uncertain whether he was the first Duke, or a successor of those, whom Longinus, the Exarch of Ravenna, is supposed to have instituted in Dalmatia, when he created the dukedoms of Italy: though the most reasonable conjecture appears to be, that the Dalmatian duchy was contemporaneous with the Italian, and dependent in the same man-

ner on the Exarch of Ravenna, who commanded in the Adriatic; and when the Exarchate ceased, the dukedom of Zara became independent.

The Greek emperors, alternately neglecting and re-establishing their rights in Dalmatia, had already opened the way to the several competitors for dominion, who successively obtained a footing in that country; and, as early as 806, the Dalmatians submitted to the Franks. But a few years after the death of Charlemagne, those strangers were expelled; and the authority of the Dukes, afterwards Kings *, of Dalmatia, was established by the Croatian Terpimir, in 837.†

The Adriatic was at that time exposed to constant piracies; and the Narentines, a Serb-Slavonic race, who still retained the religion and superstitions of their Pagan ancestors ‡, taking advantage of its intricate navigation, and numerous ports, impeded the commerce of that sea, and infested the towns on the coast. This first directed the attention of the Venetians to Dalmatia; and preparations were made for checking their depredations; when a new enemy, more formidable than

* The first who assumed the title of King of Dalmatia was Peter Cresimir, in 1052.

† See a diploma of his, in Farlati, (iii. 51.) beginning, "During the reign of the most pious Lothario, King of the Franks, in Italy . . . . . I, Terpimir, Duke of the Croatians," &c.

‡ Farlati says they were not converted to Christianity till about A.D. 872; long after the other Slavonians of Dalmatia. Farlati, iii. 257. See above, Vol. I. p. 17.

the Narentine pirates, interrupted these designs; and alarmed at the power of the Saracens, who were settled in Sicily, and had invaded the Italian coast, the Venetian Republic despatched a large fleet under the Doge Participazio, to join the Greek expedition against them. A.D. 829.

The war was continued, with various success, for some years; when at length the Venetians having been defeated, through the cowardice of the Greeks, who left them to sustain the whole brunt of the battle, the victorious Saracens advanced up the Adriatic, took the towns of Rosa*, Butua, and Cattaro†, and laid siege to Ragusa. That city was however gallantly defended, for fifteen months; and the opportune arrival of the Greek fleet obliged them to retire to the coast of Puglia. A.D. 867.

Basilius, the Greek Emperor, now resolving to rid Italy of the Saracens, sought and obtained the co-operation of the Pope, and Louis of France, and made preparations for besieging Bari. The Dalmatians and other Slavonians, with the exception of the Narentines, were also requested to send their forces to Ragusa, which was fixed as the place of rendezvous; and ships were provided by the Ragusans to transport them, with the rest of the expedition, to Italy. Bari was taken; and the assistance, thus given by the Greek Emperor to Dalmatia, induced the Croatians to put themselves under his protection. A.D. 868. A.D. 871.

* Probably Risano. † See above, Vol. I. pp. 279. 389.

Not long after this, a treaty was set on foot between the Venetians and Croatians, whose usurpation of the supreme authority over the Slavonians of Dalmatia had been sanctioned by the Byzantine court. For Basilius, unable to afford the Dalmatians the protection they had applied for, against the Croatians, had consented to their purchasing their safety, by the transfer of the imperial tribute to their oppressors.* One of the principal stipulations of the treaty with Venice were, that the Croatians should make common cause with the Venetians, against the enemies of their country and their faith; and having united their fleets, they sailed against the Saracens; when, profiting by their absence, the Narentines plun-
A. D. 887. dered the Dalmatian coast, and levied tribute on the trade of the Adriatic; and having prepared a large fleet found themselves in a condition to oppose the Venetians. A battle was fought at Puntamica†, a headland to the west of Zara, and the Doge Pietro Candiano was killed; a portion of the Venetian fleet was also destroyed; and the admiral's ship having been captured, the dead body of the Doge fell into the hands of the Narentines; who, tempering their lawless conduct with a strange mixture of chivalry, took it to Venice, and restored it to his countrymen.

Elated by this success, they persisted in levying

* Porphyrogenitus de Administ. Imper. c. 30.

† Appendini says, near Cavo Miculo.

tribute on all vessels trading in the Adriatic, and continued their piracies along the whole coast; in which they were assisted by many of the Croatians. For the Dukes of Croatia, always either openly, or secretly, opposed to the interests of Venice, took occasion to countenance all attacks of the Narentines on the commerce of the Republic, and even seized the Isle of Pago from the Zaratines, making it the residence of a *ban* or governor, and the rendezvous of outlaws. Zara, and the other maritime towns, seeing their possessions exposed to constant depredations from the Narentines, implored the assistance of the Venetians: they offered, in return for it, to swear allegiance to the Republic; and thus the first direct opening was given to Venice, for obtaining a footing in Dalmatia. The proposal was gladly accepted by the Doge Pietro Orseolo II., whose active mind never neglected an opportunity of advancing the interests, and commercial greatness of his country; and the desire of taking vengeance on the Narentines, together with the advantages promised by the offers of the Dalmatians, stimulated the Republic to great exertions.

A formidable fleet was therefore equipped, which was commanded by the Doge in person. Sailing from Venice in May 997, it touched at Grado, Parenzo, and Pola; and having received tokens of friendship, and allegiance, from Trieste, Capo d'Istria, Pirano, Isola, Albona*, Rovigno, and other towns of Istria, it proceeded to Dalmatia. A.D. 997.

Alarmed at the presence of this mighty armament,

* Or Emone.

Mucimir*, Duke of Croatia, sent ambassadors, with rich presents, to make peace with the Venetians. The Doge, however, refused to listen to any proposals, until all that had been taken from the Dalmatians was restored; and the expedition, leaving Zara, proceeded to attack the Narentines. They were assailed in their fastnesses, and defeated on all points; the islands of Lesina, Meleda, Curzola, and Lagosta† which they had strongly fortified, were taken; and the victorious fleet, having returned to Träù, the Doge received there the abject submission of those of the Narentines, who had escaped the general slaughter.‡ They engaged no longer to exact tribute on the seas, to burn all their large boats, to indemnify the Venetian merchants for their captured cargoes, to send six hostages to the Doge, and to abstain for the future from all acts of piracy.§ And thus the Narentines, who had been for three centuries the terror of Dalmatia, and of the Venetian traders, lost all semblance of power‖; and a remnant only was found in later times among the pirates of Almissa, and the subjects of the house of Kacich.¶

* Catalinich says Dircislav, and that he was killed in an attempt to relieve the Isle of Pasmano, ii. p. 237.

† It *belonged* to the Dukes of Chelmo. See above, Vol. I. pp. 264. 284. Farlati, vi. 365.

‡ See above, Vol. I. pp. 284, 285., the previous capture of the forty Narentine merchants.

§ See above, Vol. I. p. 284.

‖ Appendini (vol. i. p. 249.) says, the Narentines were not (finally) subdued by the Venetians, until after the arrival of the Turks in Bosnia, but they were powerless.

¶ The family of Kadcich, or Kacich, were powerful in Poglizza, which received their name. See p. 205.

The Croatians were also expelled from the Isle of Pago, which was restored to Zara; and Surigna was sent by his brother Mucimir, on a mission to the Doge at Träù, with instructions to make peace on any terms. A treaty was therefore concluded, by which the King of Croatia promised to abstain from all acts of aggression in Dalmatia, and sent his son Stephen to Venice as a hostage for his fidelity; who there received an education worthy of his rank, and afterwards married Niclea, the daughter of the Doge.

Matters being thus satisfactorily arranged, the Doge assumed the title of Duke of Dalmatia; and no further hostilities took place during his lifetime. But in the ninth year after the accession of Ottone Orseolo*, Cresimir II., King of Croatia, made incursions into the territory of Zara; not however with any permanent success; for the opportune arrival of the Doge * obliged him to act on the defensive; the Croatians were defeated; and he was forced to sue for peace. A.D. 1018.

It was on the return of the Doge from Dalmatia, on his way to Venice, that a tax was first imposed on the islands of Arbe, Veglia, and Ossero; when the singular tribute of ten pounds of silk was annually required from the citizens of Arbe, or, in default, five pounds of pure gold. †

* Son of Pietro Orseolo, and named after the Emperor Otho III.

† A copy of the document is preserved in the Cathedral of Arbe. Lucio, ii. p. 80. Catalinich, ii. 243. See above, Vol. I. p. 76.

Stephen, who succeeded Cresimir II., as King of Croatia, was the same who had been educated at Venice; and nothing was attempted, during his reign, against the Venetian interests in Dalmatia; but the recollection of the late war, and the fear of the increasing power of the Republic, inclined the Croatians to court the good will of the Greek Emperors; who appear, about this time, to have reasserted their authority, and right of jurisdiction, over Dalmatia, and to have appointed proconsuls, protospatars *, and generals in that country. † For some time, indeed, the Venetians were too much occupied with nearer perils, to attend to their interests abroad, and the title of Duke of Dalmatia ceased to be assumed by the Doge, until the accession of Vitale Faliero, in 1084.

A.D. 1042.

Peter Cresimir no sooner ascended the throne of Croatia, than he resolved on supplanting the influence of Venice in Dalmatia, and depriving them of their possessions on the coast. Aided by the countenance of the Byzantine court, the authority of the Croatians was soon re-established there; Zara, Sebenico, and other towns, welcomed their return; and Peter Cresimir assumed, in addition to his previous royal title, that of

A.D. 1052.

* The Protospathaire was "commander of the guards" at Constantinople. See Gibbon, c. liii.

† According to documents found in the Convent of St. Grisogono, mentioned by Lucio.

"King of Dalmatia." His great care was to ingratiate himself with the clergy, by bestowing liberal donations on the churches and convents; and his half-sister, Cica*, founded the nunnery of Sta. Maria, at Zara, of which she was the first abbess. A.D. 1066. Notwithstanding these prudent measures of the king, Zara was again wrested from him by the Doge Domenico Contarini; and though the influence of the Croatians still continued paramount in other parts of Dalmatia, even after the death of Peter Cresimir, and the accession A.D. 1073. of the usurper Slavizo, the injustice done to Stephen, the nephew of the late king, (who, deprived of the throne bequeathed to him, retired to Spalato, and ended his days in the Benedictine convent of St. Stefano,) gave such offence to the Dalmatians, that they invited the Normans into the country; and Slavizo, being taken prisoner, was deprived of his throne. A.D. 1075.

This appeal to the Normans was far from being advantageous to the Dalmatians, since it incensed the Venetian Republic against them, and afforded a pretext for direct interference with the exercise of their independent will; and the Doge, having forced the Normans to withdraw, exacted a promise from the Dalmatians, that they would abstain from calling in the aid of strangers, and maintain a strict allegiance to Venice.

* She was daughter of his mother's first husband, the Prior of Zara.

Zvonimir, the next King of Croatia, had married the daughter of St. Stephen, King of
A.D. 1076. Hungary, and sister of Ladislas*, "the holy king;" and at his death, in 1087, the succession being disputed, by those who were unwilling to recognise the election of Stephen II.†, Ladislas was invited to decide the question, and assume the reins of government. He therefore occupied Croa-
A.D. 1090. tia with a powerful army; and being obliged to return into Hungary, to oppose an invasion of the Tartars, he left his nephew Almo to govern the country, with the title of Duke of Croatia; an event which brought the Hun-
A.D. 1091. garians for the first time into Dalmatia, and led to the long contests that afterwards took place between them and the Venetians, for the possession of the country.

* Properly Vladislav, "the ruler of glory."

† Lucio gives the following list of the *Kings* of Croatia: "Cresimirus Major; Cresimirus Rex; Stephanus Rex; Cresimirus Petrus Rex, Croatiæ et Dalmatiæ; Slavizo Rex, Zvonimirus Rex Dalmat. et Croatiæ; Stephanus Rex Dalmat. et Croatiæ ultimus," p. 78. See other lists of them in Lucio, lib. ii. pp. 58. 447. Lucio, Appendini, and others, agree in confessing the uncertainty that exists, respecting the dukes and kings of Croatia. Another list seems to be Porinus; Porga; Borna; Ladislav; Mislav; (Terpimir; Mucimir?) Unuslav; Demogoy; Sedeslav; Branimir; Terpimir; Mucimir (died A.D. 900.); Cresimir; Pribuna (911.); Miroslav? Tomislav; Cidomir; Cresimir; Stephen; Dircislav (first king of Croatia); Cresimir; *Zvonimir*, the last king. (Lucio, pp. 59. 88. Appendini, i. p. 252. note. Catalinich, ii. 233. Thomas Archidiac., c. xiii. Farlati, vi. p. 41, &c.)

This period is well known in the history of Christianity, when all Europe resounded with preparations for the first Crusade; A.D. 1095–6. and though the Dalmatians neither claim the merit of aiding in that object, nor had any reason, in after times, to look with satisfaction on the deeds of the Crusaders, their country has been thought to receive some degree of honour at the close of this century, from the passage of Raymond of Toulouse and "his provincials," on their way to Constantinople.*

The pacific disposition of St. Ladislas inducing him to neglect his newly-acquired dominions, the Croatians called Peter, one of their nobles, to the throne; but on the accession of his nephew Coloman, a force was sent into the country; Peter was killed in battle; and Coloman, having been acknowledged king, was afterwards crowned at Belgrade †, with his bride Bussita, a daughter of the Norman Count Roger, A.D. 1102. who had just arrived from Sicily.

Colomon then endeavoured to gain over the towns of the coast; but the encroachments of the Normans of Puglia, in the Adriatic, first induced him to unite with the Venetians against them; and some Hungarian troops, being embarked on board Venetian ships, passed over to Brundusium, and fought

* Gibbon, c. lviii.

† Properly *Bielo-grad*, "the white city." It is now called Zara Vecchia. See above, Vol. I. p. 92.; and below, p. 234.

against the common enemy. No sooner, however, had the Doge, Ordelafo Faliero, sailed to join the Crusaders, on the coast of Syria, than Coloman thought the moment favourable for his designs. He had, for some time, been endeavouring, secretly, to seduce the inhabitants of Zara from their allegiance to Venice, but they held firm to their oath of fidelity; and, accordingly, he resolved to attempt, by force, what he had failed to obtain by intrigue, and, with a large army, laid siege to Zara.

A.D. 1104.

The citizens defended themselves obstinately, assisted by St. Giovanni, bishop of Träù *, who was one of the ablest mechanicians of his time, and succeeded in destroying an immense battering engine, with which Coloman expected to effect a breach in the walls. Both sides, however, becoming weary of a protracted siege, St. Giovanni persuaded the citizens to submit to the King, who granted them the most favourable conditions.

Coloman entered the city in triumph; and amongst other benefits, of which the memory is long passed away, he built the *Campanile* (belfry) of the church of Sta. Maria of the Benedictine Nunnery.† "Accompanied by his court, and by the bishop Giovanni, Coloman then proceeded from Zara to Sebenico; where, in the church of St. Michele, after the celebration of divine service, he beheld a white dove hovering over the head of the pious prelate, which

* See above, Vol. I. p. 179. † See above, Vol. I. p. 82.

changed the esteem he had conceived for him into profound veneration; and the intercession of the saint with the monarch, not a little aided the interests of Träù and Spalato, which, one after the other, tendered their submission, and opened their gates to him with every demonstration of the liveliest welcome."* Of this he was not slow in taking advantage; and though Coloman gave proofs of a cruel disposition, in putting out the eyes of his brother Almo, and his infant son Bela, it is certain that his able, and judicious, conduct in Dalmatia laid the foundation of that leaning of the Dalmatian nobles towards the kingdom of Hungary, which constantly manifested itself in the progress of their after history. He took every precaution to assure his acquisition. He built a castle at Zara, to hold a Hungarian garrison; and, having secured the good will of the Spalatines, he obtained from them the eastern tower of the palace of Diocletian, for the purpose of accommodating a body of troops, specially charged to collect the Croatian tribute; and, during nearly eleven years, A.D. 1111. the country remained in possession of the Hungarians, until the death of Coloman, in 1114; when the Doge, Ordelafo Faliero, being assisted by Henry V., and the Emperor Alexius, led a formidable expedition into Dalmatia; besieged and took Zara; and defeated the Hungarians, who had come to its relief. Sebenico was A.D. 1114–15.

* Catalinich, ii. 277.

also captured, and its walls razed; and Träù, Spalato, and several towns in the interior, which had never before acknowledged the sovereignty of the Republic, fell into the hands of the Venetians.

Belgrade was also taken, after a vigorous siege, and utterly destroyed. It had been raised by the Hungarians as a rival to Zara, and had received a distinguished mark of favour, by being chosen for the coronation of Coloman; it was therefore looked upon with great jealousy by the Venetians; and an excuse for its total destruction was found, in its having become the resort of pirates, who interfered with the trade of Venice.* And, in order effectually to prevent its restoration, the episcopal see was transferred to Scardona, and the principal inhabitants were removed to Sebenico; which, from that time, rose to wealth and importance, and afterwards obtained the privileges of other Dalmatian towns.

Two years afterwards, a large Hungarian force invaded Dalmatia, under the command of Stephen II., the youthful son, and successor, of Coloman; and Faliero having levied a numerous army, chiefly composed of Longobardi, left Venice, for the defence of Zara; when the Doge having been killed beneath its walls, the Venetians were obliged to take refuge within the city. The Hungarians, having the superiority by land, and seconded by the good-will of the inhabitants, easily

A.D. 1117.

* Catalinich, ii. p. 286.

recovered Sebenico and Belgrade; but the command of the sea enabled the Venetians to keep possession of Zara, Träù, and Spalato, as well as the islands; and the Doge retained the title of Duke of Dalmatia, while Stephen continued to assume that of King.

Pope Calistus II., at this period, being desirous of uniting all the Christian princes, for the recovery of the Holy Land, persuaded the two contending powers to conclude a truce for five years, until Stephen should obtain his majority, and steps could be taken to establish a permanent peace; each party continuing, in the mean time, to enjoy the rights it then had in Croatia and Dalmatia; but two years after the A.D. 1124. expiration of the truce, Stephen once more established his influence at Tràù, and other places; confirming to them the privileges before granted by Coloman; and all, except Zara, returned to the dominion of Hungary.

The Saracens, finding that the Venetian fleet was engaged on the coast of Syria, sailed up the Adriatic, and destroyed Träù; when the Doge Domenico Michieli, alarmed at this intelligence, and hearing that the maritime cities had again sworn allegiance to Hungary, returned to Dalmatia. On his way, he took the Isle of Chio from the Greek Emperor, in retaliation for the assistance he had afforded Stephen by sea, in his invasion of the Dalmatian coast; and, having re-

covered Träù and Spalato, he obliged the Hungarians to retreat.

On the death of Stephen II., his cousin, the blind Bela, son of Almo, ascended the throne of Hungary, and was succeeded by his son Geiza II.; during whose reigns nothing was attempted by the Hungarians, against the interests of Venice; and the towns of the coast continued under the jurisdiction of the Republic, till 1143; when the Spalatines voluntarily submitted to the authority of Geiza; obtaining in return all the concessions granted by Coloman, and in addition the privilege of not giving hostages, and of not being summoned before any court out of the city. And eight years afterwards, the Träùrines, following their example, obtained the same privileges.

A.D. 1142.

A.D. 1151.

Manuel Comnenus, anxious to restore the Byzantine empire to its pristine greatness, having endeavoured by intrigue, and force of arms, to gain a footing in Hungary, Stephen III., the successor of Geiza, thought it expedient to seek alliance with the Venetians; notwithstanding which, the Greeks defeated Barich, Ban of Bosnia, took possession of that country, and succeeded in establishing their authority in Dalmatia. Welcomed by the maritime cities, whose good will Venice had alienated from her, by making their church subject to the Patriarch of Grado, they occupied Clissa, Scardona, Ostrovizza,

A.D. 1143.

Sebenico, and Träù, and after a vigorous siege took Spalato; which continued, as late as 1180, to acknowledge the authority of the Byzantine court.

So long as the Venetians held possession of Zara, and the islands, they did not consider that the occupation of any Dalmatian town, by the Hungarians, was fraught with danger to their maritime superiority; but when the Greeks appeared with a formidable fleet in the Adriatic, and threatened to occupy Ancona, their apprehensions were excited; and in order to prevent the union of the two fleets, they attacked the Anconitans, and took five of their gallies.* Enraged at this counterblow to his designs, Manuel seized all the Venetian merchants at Constantinople, threw them into prison, and confiscated their property; — an arbitrary act which roused all the energies of Venice, and induced it to send a fleet, of one hundred gallies and twenty ships, under the Doge Vitale Michieli, to take vengeance on the Greeks. A.D. 1170-1.

On the way, the Venetians took Träù; which, through the unrestrained licence of the soldiers, was sacked and partly destroyed; and some of them, having entered the cathedral, broke open the tomb, and carried off the coffin of St. Giovanni, in the hopes of finding something A.D. 1171.

* The siege of Ancona, by the Venetians and the Emperor Frederic, happened about this time, in consequence of the protection it received from Manuel.

precious within it. Disappointed in their expectations, and finding nothing but a ring on one finger, they tore off the arm, and left the body on the shore. In vain the Traurines applied to the Republic, for the restoration of this relic; the Venetians only answered, that they kept it themselves "with greater respect than could be shown to it by the Traurines"; and it was not till 1174 that it was given back to them, by the new Doge Sebastiano Ziani, who commanded that all things carried away from Träù should be restored. The legend, however, states that it was brought back to Träù by angels*; where it is still preserved, and looked upon with becoming veneration; and some, even in this, the nineteenth, century, have attributed their cures to the miraculous effects of the holy relic.

Alarmed at the overwhelming force of the Venetians, the Byzantine emperor made proposals of peace; the Venetian fleet retired into winter quarters, at the Isle of Chio; and there those disasters occurred, followed by the death of the Doge, which are so well known, and form so gloomy a page in the history of Venice.

A.D. 1177. The year 1177 was remarkable for the arrival of Pope Alexander III. at Zara†; to which place he had been conveyed in a vessel

* Farlati, iv. pp. 319. 331. See above, Vol. I. p. 179.

† Platina, Hist. of the Popes, p. 192. Farlati, v. 60. Catalinich, iii. 10. It was from him that Alexandria in Piedmont received its name.

belonging to William King of Sicily, when expelled from Rome through the enmity of Frederic Barbarossa. On his arrival at the Dalmatian capital, he was received with great honours, and mounted on a white horse, he made his solemn entry into the city; whence, after a sojourn of four days, he proceeded to Venice *, visiting on his way many of the Dalmatian islands, and the towns on the coast of Istria. It was not long after his arrival at Venice, that Ziani obtained the victory over the fleet of Barbarossa, which gave rise to the ceremony of the Doge's marriage with the Adriatic, instituted by Pope Alexander on the arrival of the victorious Ziani at the Lido; and two years more witnessed the restoration of Alexander, and his memorable triumph over Frederic Barbarossa, which was even greater than that he obtained over our own Henry, in the case of Thomas à Becket.

From the period of the destruction of Salona, in the seventh century, Zara had gradually risen to importance; and the suppression of the Narentine piracies, the destruction of its rival Belgrade, and the transfer of the neighbouring islands to the jurisdiction of Zara, had increased its opulence and power. Despite the intrigues of the Greeks and Hungarians, the Venetians contrived to retain their hold of that city; but, on their interfering with

* Farlati (v. p. 60.) says he went first to the Convent of "Sti. Nicolai, situm in faucibus Rivoalti." See sketches of Venetian History, vol. i. p. 71. note.

the popular privileges of the people, and on their subjecting the archbishop to the Patriarch of Grado, the Zaratines resolved on asserting their rights; and no sooner did they hear of the disasters that had befallen the fleet, than they expelled the Count, Domenico Morosini; who was forced to fly to Venice. The Zaratines then placed themselves under the protection of Bela III., King of Hungary, who soon afterwards established his authority over the other cities of the coast, as well as in Bosnia; the government of which he entrusted to the Ban Kulin, a great favourer of the sect of Paterenes*, whose doctrines spread rapidly in that country, and even in Dalmatia, particularly at Spalato and Träù.

A.D. 1181.

The Venetians, weakened by their losses, were not in a condition to undertake the regular siege of Zara; they therefore contented themselves with the blockade of the port, and the recovery of the islands; and after three years, spent by the Doge Malipiero in intercepting the trade, (during which time the Hungarians and Zaratines defeated the Venetians at the promontory of Trani,) a truce was concluded between them, till 1182.

A.D. 1190.

* Of these, and other, early *Protestants, see* Napier's Florentine History, vol. i. p. 182. Gibbon, c. liv. Sismondi, vol. ii. c. xiv. Muratori, Annal. vol. xvii. 18. Farlati, vol. iv. Faber's Vallenses, and Albigenses. Gilly's Vigilantius, and Waldensian Researches. Church in the Middle Ages. In Bosnia, they were favoured by some, and persecuted by other, rulers of the country. See above, Chap. VII. p. 97—113.

Enrico Dandolo then undertook the siege of Zara, though without success; and the Hungarians having induced the Pisans to cause a diversion in their favour, the Venetians found themselves opposed by a new enemy. The Pisans even advanced to the coast of Istria, and took Pola; but they were soon driven from their conquest, and the Adriatic was cleared of the Pisan fleet.

Zara, however, still held out; and the Doge returned to Venice.

Some time before this, about the middle of the twelfth century, the Knights Templars had established themselves in Dalmatia, and had been permitted to settle at Vrana. We find them mentioned*, as early as 1163, engaged in a controversy with Lampridius, Archbishop of Spálato, respecting his right of jurisdiction over the convent of St. Gregory at Vrana†; which having been ceded, in 1076, by Zvonimir, to the Papal See, for the use of the Apostolic legates, was afterwards made over by Pope Gregory VII. to the Templars.‡

* Farlati, vol. iv. p. 11.

† Or Wrana. The importance of the Priorate of Vrana gradually increased under the Templars; and after that order was suppressed, it passed to the Knights of Rhodes, who not only possessed that large and fertile estate, but others also in Dalmatia and Croatia. The most noted of its Priors were the Counts of Palisna; one of whom, Giovanni, in 1386, took Elizabeth and Maria of Hungary prisoners: but in 1392 Vuk Vucich, Ban of Bosnia, having seized the prior, the office was abolished. See Albinoni's Memorie, vol. ii. p. 196. 200.

‡ See above, Vol. I. p. 93., and Albinoni, Memorie per la Storia della Dalmazia, vol. ii. p. 5.

Being in the recently abolished diocese of Belgrade, which had been transferred to Scardona*, Lampridius contended that it was subject to his jurisdiction; and this the Templars resisted; maintaining that it was free from all extraneous authority, and was solely under the patronage of the Supreme Pontiff. The case was therefore referred to Rome; when Alexander III. pronounced in favour of the Templars; forbad all interference on the part of the Archbishop; and decreed that they should remain unmolested at Vrana; in the possession of which they were afterwards confirmed by the Kings of Hungary, whose favour and protection they long enjoyed.

In the following century, they were selected by Andrew II., King of Hungary, to hold for him the fortress of Clissa; who, before his departure for the Holy Land, in 1217, having repaired to Spálato, gave it in charge to Pontius, their Master†, on condition of his garrisoning it with some of the members of his order†; but a few years after this, they were called upon to exchange it for Sebenico, at the request of the Count, who governed that town in the name of the Hungarian King.

After the death of Manuel, Sebenico had passed into the hands of Bela III., King of Hungary, with the rest of Dalmatia; and forty-one years later, the

* See above, p. 234.

† Farlati, vol. iv. p. 450. The Grand Prior, or provincial master; their Grand Master lived in the Holy Land.

people of that town had been allowed to join the league with Spálato, Träù, and Clissa, on condition that they should abstain from piracy, to which they had hitherto been addicted. A.D. 1221.

About the same time Saracenus, and after him his son, Count Domaldo, who governed great part of Dalmatia, as a fief of Hungary, wishing to exchange Sebenico * for Clissa, obtained permission from Andrew II., the Hungarian King, to take possession of that fortress; with the proviso, that Sebenico should be duly consigned, in its stead, into the hands of the Templars. But no sooner were the Sebenzáni† delivered from the presence and control of Domaldo, than they destroyed the castle, where the Count had resided; and having proclaimed their freedom, refused to admit the Templars. In vain did Bela IV. send to assure them that the proceeding was the result of an agreement, made with the sanction of his father; and neither the authority of Pope Alexander IV., nor the threats of the Archbishop and other dignitaries of the Dalmatian church, could prevail upon them to submit to the command of the Templars.

A few years after this, in 1229, another controversy took place, between the Templars of Vrana and the monks of St. Cosmo and Damiano, respecting certain lands about Rogova and Virbiza;

* It is evident that Giustiniani is wrong, in ascribing the origin of Sebeníco to the Uscocs. See above, Vol. I. p. 101.

† The people of Sebeníco.

in which justice was on the side of their opponents.* The matter was referred to the Archbishop of Spálato; and notwithstanding the refusal of the Knights to come to terms upon the matter, judgment was pronounced, and the lands were ordered to be restored to their rightful owners.

The possession of Vrana, and the protection afforded them by the Kings of Hungary, gave the Templars considerable influence in Dalmatia: they obtained possession of several strong castles, and rich lands, in various parts of the country; until, in 1312, orders having been sent, in compliance with a decree of the Council of Vienne, to the Archbishop of Spálato, and the Bishop of Segna, in whose diocese they had possessions, to seize their lands, and transfer them, together with the convent of Vrana, to the Knights of St. John, all their property was confiscated; and they were proscribed in Dalmatia†, as in the rest of Europe. Nor was it long ere the terror their name had inspired was forgotten; and the ruins of their church and castle now scarcely suffice to keep up the remembrance of their sojourn in the country.

A.D. 1200–1202.

At the close of the twelfth century, the fourth Crusade was proclaimed, to rescue the Holy Land from the hands of the Saracens; and the chivalry of France united for the pious undertaking. The difficulty attending a long march by land induced them to seek

* Farlati, vol. iii. pp. 256. 303. † Farlati, iii. p. 303.

the means of transport by sea; and six ambassadors were sent, to solicit the Venetians to furnish them with vessels for that purpose. The request was submitted to the Doge, and the council of state; and it was finally arranged, that the Republic should furnish "flat-bottomed vessels for 4500 horses, and 900 squires; with a number of ships, sufficient for the embarkation of 4500 knights, and 20,000 foot; that, during a term of nine months, they should be supplied with provisions, and transported to whatever coast the service of God and Christendom should require; and that the Republic should join the armament with a squadron of fifty gallies. It was required that the pilgrims should pay, upon their departure, a sum of 85,000 marks of silver, and that all conquests by sea and land should be equally divided between the confederates." * These matters being agreed upon, the treaty was sent to Pope Innocent III. for ratification; which was granted, on condition of their not carrying arms against any Christian power.

After various delays, it was found that the conditions far exceeded the means of the Crusaders, and, "after all their efforts, 34,000 marks were still wanting to complete the stipulated sum." This difficulty was, however, removed by the crafty proposal of the Doge, that, in order to compensate for the deficiency, they should assist the

* Gibbon, vol. vii. c. lx.

Republic in recovering the revolted city of Zara; and their reluctance to attack a Christian place, against which the Pope had issued such strict injunctions, was only overcome by the eloquence of the Doge, and their enthusiastic desire to remove all impediments to their voyage.

A.D. 1202. At length, on the 9th of October, 1202, the fleet left Venice. It consisted of "nearly 500 sail; and fifty of these were galleys, among which, the Giant *Mondo* towered above its mates. Forty thousand troops were distributed in two hundred and forty transports; while seventy stout vessels were freighted with stores, provisions, and stupendous artillery, which included 300 perrieres, mangonels, and engines of every other description necessary for the assault of cities." *

Trieste and Omago, which had lately avoided the payment of tribute, sent to offer it, and sue for pardon; and on the 10th of November, the eve of St. Martin, the confederates came in sight of Zara.

That city, standing on a peninsula, was backed towards the east by a plain, and washed on the west and south by the open sea. On the north was a long creek, that formed the port, and curved round towards the east. Its walls were lofty and well built, and strengthened by massive towers; and the port was defended by a strong chain, that closed its entrance. Against this the first assault was directed. It was soon broken, by the force

* Sketches of Venetian History, vol. i. p. 96.

and weight of the gallies; the guards who defended it were driven back by missiles from the ships; and the Venetians gained an entrance. Terrified at this success of the besiegers, the Zaratines sent messengers to treat with them. The Abbé Devaux, and the Count de Montfort, however, having raised their voices against the occupation of a Christian city, and alarmed the Crusaders with the prospect of excommunication, the hopes of the besieged were once more revived, and they prepared to continue the struggle. But the advantages already gained by the Venetians were not to be thus abandoned; Dandolo pressed the siege; some of the French joined in the attack; and in five days Zara was subjected to all the horrors of a city taken by assault. Houses were pillaged and burnt, the walls dismantled, and the churches were not exempt from the general spoliation.

The sack of the city had lasted three days, when a quarrel arose among the conquerors, respecting the division of booty, or the allotment of quarters; they fought furiously for a whole night, and both sides lost many men; the Venetians, who were inferior in numbers, suffering most severely. The Doge, and the principal chiefs of the French army, in vain endeavoured to separate the combatants, and it required eight days' negotiation to compose their differences; when the Crusaders, having time for reflection, regarded this discord as a punishment for their disobedience to the chair of St.

Peter; and the Venetians endeavoured to expiate their sacrilegious conduct, in pillaging the churches, by building the Cathedral of Zara.*

"After the desolation of Zara, many of the inhabitants sought refuge in the interior of Croatia, and in some of the islands."† A cheering prospect, however, soon opened for the restoration of the city. The departure of the Venetian fleet in the ensuing spring, and the smallness of the garrison left in a castle, near the canal of Zara, were favourable to their hopes; and the accidental arrival of ten gallies of the Gaëtani promised them success. Bernardo of Perugia, Archbishop of Spalato, assisted them with all his influence, in inducing the Gaëtani to co-operate against the Venetians; and, having obtained a portion of the wealth, left at Vrana by the King of Hungary, under the care of the Templars, he seconded his arguments by the more potent agency of money.‡ The castle was carried by storm, and the garrison put to the sword; and the fugitive Zaratines, having returned home, applied themselves, with unceasing perseverance, to rebuild the walls and houses of their city. Zara was now once more in-

* Carrara, and Petter (p. 93.). See above, Vol. I. p. 81. The cathedral is said to have been founded by Enrico Dandolo, but it is not altogether probable; and Farlati says it was commenced by Archbishop Laurentius, and completed by him in 1285. Farlati, iv. pp. 8. 80.

† Memorie della Dalmazia, vol. ii. p. 71. Farlati, v. 69.

‡ Archid. Tommaso, c. xxv. Lucio, p. 334.

habited, and Count Domaldo, with the sanction of the Court of Hungary, was elected governor of the city and province, with the title of Count of Zara, Sebeníco, Träù, and Spálato. But the fear of the vengeance of Venice, and the inability of the Hungarian king to afford them protection at this time, induced the Zaratines to propose a reconciliation with Venice; and they even offered to send hostages, to subject their Archbishop to the authority of the Patriarch of Grado, and to pay an annual tribute of acknowledgment to the Republic.* These voluntary concessions, and the friendly mediation of the Pope, brought about a reconciliation between the Venetians and Zaratines, and Vitale Dandolo was appointed by the Republic to be the new Count of Zara; and so rapidly did the city recover from its misfortunes, that thirteen years afterwards, when Andrew, king of Hungary, was preparing an expedition to the Holy Land, Zara was enabled to add several ships to the fleet raised at Venice and Ancona.†

A.D. 1204.

A.D. 1217.

An event, which was looked upon of great importance by the Zaratines, happened at this time, the arrival of St. Francis in their city, on his way from Venice to the Holy Land; who, having obtained, from the Abbess of the

A.D. 1219.

* Consisting of "3000 rabbit skins." Dandolo. Farlati, v. p. 70.

† Thomas Archidiaconus, c. xxvi.

Benedictine Nunnery of St. Nicolo, a portion of that convent, founded the monastery of the "*Frati Minori*," (afterwards called "Franciscans," from their patron*;) and the convents of Pasman, Träù, Spálato, and Ragusa, were indebted to the same voyage of the holy pilgrim for their foundation.†

Thomas, the archdeacon ‡, while pursuing his studies at Bologna, saw St. Francis there, and gives an account of his manner and appearance, and the estimation in which he was held by the people. He describes his preaching in the public square, where "nearly all the citizens were assembled to hear him," and says that, "in his sermon, or rather address, to them, which began with 'angels, men, and demons,' he propounded the question of those three rational beings, so well and discreetly, that he excited the admiration of many learned persons who were present; while the general tenour of his discourse went to extinguish the old enmity of individuals, and to establish concord. His dress was mean, his personal appearance contemptible, and his face uncomely; but such effect did God give to his words, that many noble families, which had been sullied by blood in long existing feuds, were prevailed upon to settle their differences in peace;

* Catalinich, iii. p. 26. Farlati, v. 72.

† The order was founded in 1209, and was sanctioned by Pope Honorius III. in 1223.

‡ See Thomas Archidiaconus, c. xxvii. in Lucio, p. 338. Thomas was born at Spálato, A.D. 1200.

and so great was the enthusiasm of his hearers, that men and women rushed in crowds to touch the hem of his robe, and even to carry off pieces of his clothes, as mementos of a man, for whom they felt so much devotional respect."

About the same period, the Papal see was much alarmed by the increase of Paterene opinions at Zara. Nor were they confined to the obscure, and ignorant, part of the population; they were principally held by persons of noble rank *, and "nearly all, who were considered the most noble and eminent people of Zara, willingly received and protected the 'heretics.'" † So great an influence indeed had their doctrines obtained, particularly in Bosnia ‡, that neither the threats, nor the arguments of Acconcio, the Papal legate, could put a stop to them; and it was long before the sect was entirely crushed at Zara, and other parts of Dalmatia. A.D. 1221–22.

The irruption of the Tartars into Europe spread consternation through Hungary. They had swept, like a torrent, through Russia and Poland; and Bela IV., the son and successor of Andrew, terrified at their approach, sent his wife Maria, the daughter of the Emperor Lascaris, with the royal family and his treasures, into Dalmatia, where they took refuge in the strong fortress of A.D. 1240–41.

* Farlati, v. 72. "Et nobilium præsertim animos infecerant."

† Farlati, *ibid.*

‡ See above, pp. 97—113.

Clissa. He then collected all the force he could muster, and gave them battle; when, defeated with immense loss, he fled into Austria, and the Tartars ravaged the country, and committed every species of cruelty on the inhabitants.

The chroniclers of the times relate that, "on entering the towns and villages, they seized the old men, women, and children, who had been unable to fly, and massacred them without mercy, and drank the wines of Hungary in the skulls of the slain. The Tartar women, armed like the men, vied with them in the cruelties they exercised towards their own sex, and even the children were taught to delight in torturing the children they found; and the one who gave the most savage blow, received the applause of his compatriots." Such were the horrors that formed the favourite pastime of these cruel invaders.

Finding that the Tartars still advanced, Bela fled before them to Dalmatia, and took refuge in Spálato; but thinking that Träù was more capable of defence, and equally open to escape by sea, he withdrew thither. It was not long before the Tartars burst into Dalmatia, and failing in their assaults upon Clissa, they proceeded to attack Träù, where they learnt that the king had taken refuge. But they were not provided with the means of making a regular siege; the ditches prevented the passage of their cavalry; and want of provisions obliging them to retreat, they withdrew by the

Sebenico road to Knin, and thence by Bosnia into Bulgaria.*

During the siege of Träù, by the Tartars, William, the son of Baldwin, the Latin Emperor of Constantinople, died of the hardships he had suffered, in his flight, from Hungary; and his death was soon followed by those of his betrothed wife Margaret, the daughter of Bela, and her sister, whose tomb is still shown at Spalato.† A.D. 1241.

Träù, Sebenico, and Spálato, taking advantage of the state of affairs about this period, succeeded in becoming entirely independent, and formed three distinct republics, which subsequently took part in the affairs of Dalmatia, according as their own particular interests dictated, and which are constantly mentioned in the history of the country.

The alliance of the Venetians having been sought by the Pope, on the defeat of his allies the Genoese by the Emperor Frederic II., the latter endeavoured to cause a diversion by exciting insurrection in Dalmatia. The recollection of former sufferings, and the prospect of his powerful protection, induced the Zaratines to listen to the overtures of the Emperor; and the Venetian Governor was expelled from their city. But neither Frederic, nor the King of Hungary, could

* A Venetian report gives a different account, and date. See above, Vol. I. pp. 51, 52., and 133. 185.

† See above, Vol. I. pp. 133. 180.

at this time second their attempts; and all they received was money for strengthening their walls, with the nominal protection of the Hungarians.

A.D. 1243. A fleet of forty-five sail was speedily prepared at Venice, and sent under Ramiri Zeno to restore the exiled Count. Zara was again besieged; and after an obstinate conflict, the Hungarian Governor, the Ban Dionigi, being dangerously wounded, the inhabitants became disheartened; and, plundering the houses, fled by the gate on the land side; leaving the city at the mercy of the victors. The fugitives retired to Nona, which was under the protection of the King of Hungary.

The first care of the Venetians was to repeople it with a Dalmatian colony; the lands were given to Venetian peasants, and Michele Morosini was made Count of Zara. And to ensure the safety of the colony, a treaty was made with the islanders of Arbe, Cherso, and Veglia; binding them to assist the Count, at the first summons, with ships and 300 armed men, whenever they might be required.

The earnest advice of Pope Gregory IX., anxious to unite all the Christian powers for the protection of Palestine, and the necessity of leisure to superintend the affairs of Constantinople, induced the Venetians to desire peace with Hungary. Pietro Dandolo and Stefano Guistiniani were therefore sent so arrange the terms with Bela IV.; by which it was stipulated that neither party should

give protection to malcontents, and that all disputes relative to Zara should cease. The result was the return of the fugitive Zaratines to their lands and city*; and a promise of free pardon was given by the Venetians, on condition of their sending 100 deputies to the Doge, fifteen of whom were to take up their abode in Venice.

Though the King of Hungary had abandoned all claim to interference in the affairs of Zara, and had left Venice in undisputed possession of the city and the neighbouring islands, he did not renounce his influence over the maritime towns of Dalmatia beyond the Kerka; and having appointed a governor over Slavonia, he included the whole of his possessions, beyond the Hungarian frontier, within that province. All that Hungary claimed of Dalmatia also belonged to it; and the Governor received the title of Ban of Slavonia.

This important post was conferred upon Stephen Subich of Lika, Count of Bribir†, a favourite of the King, whose descendants and successors bore a distinguished part, for a century, in the history of Dalmatia. They were A.D. 1245.

* Dandolo and other Venetian writers attribute this to the clemency of Venice, or the penitence and submission of the Zaratines; the Dalmatians to some stipulation made by Bela; which seems more consistent with probability.

† Or Breber. They are all given by Lucio. Mladin, the last in office, died while Governor of Clissa, in 1348, and left a son of the same name, betrayed to the Hungarians with his mother Lela, in Clissa.

sworn enemies of the Republic, and the pirates of Almissa, who were protected by them, were the terror of the Venetian traders. Some of them were Counts of Spálato, others of Träù, of Almissa, of Scardona, and of Clissa; some took the title of Duke, or Count, of Dalmatia; and Paul and Mladin held the rank of Ban of Bosnia and Dalmatia, in the beginning of the fourteenth century.

Anxious to check the injuries done to commerce by the Almissans, and the increasing power of the Counts of Bribir, the Venetians urged the Zaratines to avail themselves of certain dissensions, between the people of Träù and Sebenico, and seize upon the islands of Zuri and Srimaz, which belonged to the latter town, but to which Zara had ancient claims; and a convention having been afterwards made between the people of Träù and Spálato, they united with the Zaratines against the pirates of Almissa.

This dissension within their own territory, happening at the same time as the murder of Ladislas, King of Hungary, was a severe blow to the Counts of Bribir; which was increased by the election of Andrew III. to the throne, whose mother was a Venetian, and who therefore established a friendly intercourse with the Republic. Maria, sister of the deceased Ladislas, and wife of Charles King of Naples, in consequence of her brother dying without children, now claimed the crown of Hungary for her sons, and

A.D. 1290.

gained over Paul, Count of Bribir, and Ban of Croatia; who aided in asserting the rights of Charles Martel, and, on his death, those of Charles Robert, her third son. Charles Robert therefore landed at Spálato, where he was hospitably received, though neither persuasion, nor the threats of the Ban, could induce the inhabitants to disregard their oath of fidelity to Andrew, and espouse his cause. He therefore proceeded to Zagabria*; where he was crowned by his partisans, with the consent of Pope Boniface VIII.; and the news had scarcely reached Andrew, when he died.†

The defeat of the Venetians off Curzola‡; the increasing power of Paul, Count of Bribir§, whose influence had become established over the maritime towns of Dalmatia; and the opportune conspiracy of his friend Bajamonte Tiepolo, tended once more to shake the authority of Venice at Zara; and the Zaratines being persuaded to revolt, the Venetian Count was arrested, and Mladin‖, the son of Paul, was chosen Governor of Zara. He was styled Perpetual Count of Zara, Prince of Dalmatia, and Second Ban of Bosnia. Charles Robert, King of Hungary, readily sanctioned their choice; and the Zaratines were per- A.D. 1310.

* Agram, the capital of Croatia, near the Save.

† Catalinich, p. 48.

‡ In 1298. See above, Vol. I. pp. 257. 311.

§ See Catalinich, 23. 43.

‖ Called Bladin, by Catalinich.

suaded to look upon the title of their new governor as a guarantee of their "*perpetual*" release from Venetian misrule.

The first impulse of the Republic was to invite the Zaratines to return to their allegiance, and to offer to redress the grievances of which they complained; but the consciousness of having offered an affront, the unforgiving temper of the Venetians, and the advice of the Hungarians and Counts of Bribir, prevented all accommodation, and war became inevitable.

To avert this calamity, the King of Hungary wrote to the Doge, informing him that he had taken Zara and the adjacent islands under his protection, and praying that hostilities might not be directed against them. The reply of the Doge, calling the Zaratines "rebels, and most faithless sons of ingratitude," and claiming long-established rights over them, showed how little his representations influenced the Republic; and it was followed by the equipment of a fleet, which was despatched to Zara, under the orders of Belletto Guistiniani.

The expedition, however, was unsuccessful: its attempts against the city failed; and a storm having scattered the ships, the Zaratines attacked them by night, and took two gallies; in one of which was the admiral himself. A second armament was prepared, but with no better success than the first; the winter set in, and the siege was turned into a blockade; twelve

A.D. 1312.

gallies being left to prevent the Zaratine vessels putting out to sea.

The importance of recovering Zara urged the Venetians to fresh efforts; and while preparations were making for a new expedition, Dalmasio Banoli, Governor of Ferrara, who had always shown great interest in the affairs of Venice, offered his services to command the troops, which were to act against Zara by land. Persuaded of the great advantage of investing the city on the land side, to prevent the introduction of succours and provisions, the Venetians raised a large force, and put it under the command of Dalmasio, with instructions to co-operate with the fleet under Beldovino Dolfin. But the Ban Mladin was beforehand with the Venetians, and had taken up an advantageous position in the neighbourhood of the city; which gave him the means of annoying the besiegers, and intercepting their supplies.

The Republic had granted pay to the troops for three months; but that period being passed in useless skirmishes, and the military chest being exhausted by the expenses of provisioning the army, Dalmasio applied to Venice for fresh funds, and pay for three more months. The answer he received was far from satisfactory; and Dalmasio, an avaricious man, finding his predominant passion likely to be foiled, began to waver in his good intentions towards the Republic. The artful Mladin was not long in discovering, and availing himself

of, the indecision of his opponent; and to this he was urged, by the intelligence that Ourosh*, King of Servia, was marching against him. His only option was to abandon Zara to its fate, or to come to terms. He therefore represented to the Venetians the privations suffered by their army, the hopelessness of taking the city by force, and the advantages of obtaining possession of it by a bloodless conquest; and proposed to treat with them on equitable grounds. Though not altogether unwelcome, his proposals were rejected; but instructions were sent by the Doge to the Venetian general, to conduct matters with circumspection, and to act according to the best of his judgment.

On the offer of the Ban to discuss the subject with Dalmasio, a meeting took place. It was agreed that the latter should be admitted into Zara, on the payment of 2000 ducats; that he should be made Governor, with a pension of 1000 ducats, and an allowance of grain, wine, and oil; and that if he wished at any time to leave the city, he should be conveyed at the expense of the Zaratines.

The aim of each was to keep the secret, and to prevent his own party perceiving his object. Pretending anger at some affront offered him by the Ban, Dalmasio advanced to a feigned assault of the city; the gates were opened, and he entered with a chosen band of followers: nor was the treachery

* Or Urosh, called in Italian Orosio. See Appendix C.

discovered till too late; and in order to appease the anger of the Venetians, Dalmasio persuaded the Zaratines to propose an accommodation. The prospect of their authority being again restored in the city was not to be neglected. It was therefore agreed that the Zaratines should place themselves under the protection of the Republic, with the privilege of electing a governor from the Venetians, subject to the veto or approbation of the Doge, and that the Count, with three judges, should compose the council of the government.

Vitale Michaeli having been chosen Count, the adventurer Dalmasio, disappointed in his hopes, was transported, according to agreement, with his companions, to the coast of Puglia; and Charles Robert, enraged at Mladin's being the cause of Zara's falling into the hands of the Venetians, deposed him, and carried him a prisoner into Hungary.*

Zara, thus rescued from the influence of the Ban, soon found the advantage of being connected with a commercial people like the Venetians; it recovered the islands so useful to its trade; and the restoration of its municipal rights guaranteed its liberty, and raised its condition. Subsequent events also tended to cement the bond of union between Zara and the Venetians; and the ambition and tyranny of the Counts of Bribir paved the way for the future influence of the Republic in Dalmatia.

* Catalinich, vol. iii. p. 54.

Unblushing encouragers of piracy, they had inflicted great injuries on the commerce of the maritime towns, and alienated the good will of the people under their authority; and the evident advantages enjoyed by Zara, under Venetian rule, induced Träù and Sebenico to ask a governor from the Doge.

A.D. 1322.

The differences that existed between those towns and Spálato were speedily adjusted; and the claims of Träù and Sebenico against Zara were duly considered and arranged. This also put an end to the system of reprisals, which had long been established in the country.

It was the custom, whenever any one had received an injury from an individual belonging to another jurisdiction, instead of applying to the offending party, to prefer a complaint to one of his own magistrates, who demanded reparation from the tribunal of the city to which the offender belonged. Justice was then either given, or the matter was referred to arbitration. But if the complaint was neglected, the tribunal of the offended party issued a patent, to authorise reprisals; which consisted in the right of seizing goods, or persons, belonging to the place or country of the delinquent; with this proviso, that they should be lodged in the hands of the public officers, until justice had been obtained.* This sytem of retaliation, exercised mutually by the Zaratines and Traurines, had done great injury

* Memorie, vol. ii. p. 113.

to both parties; but as they were now under the same jurisdiction, their long pending differences came to the cognizance of the Venetians. The Sebenzani * also put in their claims for the islands of Srimaz and Zuri, which had been occupied by the Zaratines since 1278; and the result was, that they were restored to Sebenico. Other grievances were also speedily settled; and Spalato and Nona, seeing the advantages derived from Venetian protection, willingly exchanged the vexatious rule of the Counts of Bribir, for the wiser legislation of the Republic.

In the mean time, the rising power and encroachments of Stephen, Count of Bosnia, caused considerable alarm. The Counts of Croatia, and Nelizio †, Count of Knin, in particular, dreading his union with the Counts of Bribir, sought to strengthen themselves by an alliance with the maritime towns of Dalmatia; and on the first symptoms of war between the Bosnians and Nelizio, Spálato, Träù, and Sebenico, promised a subsidy of four hundred men, who proceeded to besiege Clissa, with a view of causing a diversion. But the influence acquired by Nelizio, on the coast of Dalmatia, had the effect of exciting against him the jealousy of the King of Hungary, and he was proclaimed a rebel and an enemy. A. D. 1337.

The interference of the Venetians at length adjusted these differences; peace A. D. 1343.

* People of Sebenico. † Called Neplizio, by Catalinich.

was concluded; and the Republic thus established the bonds of friendship with the maritime towns of Dalmatia, and the Counts of Croatia;—events which had great influence on the future condition of the country.

The kingdom of Hungary had been thrown into great disorder by the internal discord, resulting from the late disputed succession; and Charles Robert did not find himself in a condition decidedly to interfere in the affairs of Dalmatia. This state of things had tended greatly to weaken his influence there; and the different chiefs, secure in their strongholds, either quarrelled among themselves, or intrigued against him*; and it was long before he found himself in a condition to turn his serious attention to the affairs of his vassal states, and to the re-establishment of his authority over the Counts of Croatia. They, on the other hand, sought to profit by their friendship with the Venetians, and the maritime towns of Dalmatia.†

At the same time a marriage was negotiated between Andrew, the second son of Charles Robert, and the famous Giovanna‡, daughter of Robert King of Naples; but the death of the Hungarian King prevented his witnessing that event he had so anxiously desired, and which was destined to have such a tragical termination.

* It was by these dissensions that Nelizio profited.

† Catalinich, vol. iii. pp. 54. 57.

‡ Better known as Joanna of Naples.

Charles Robert was succeeded by another son, then a youth *, who was afterwards well known as Louis of Hungary, a man of a bold mind, and of vast projects. His maternal uncle, Casimir, had flattered his ambition, by the promise of adding the crown of Poland to that of Hungary; and after their combined forces had vanquished the Saxons and Transylvanians, he entertained the hope that, through his brother Andrew, he might command the alliance of the kingdom of Naples. A.D. 1342.

One of his first measures was to put a check to the dissensions, that had been caused in Croatia, by Nelizio; and on the death of the Count he endeavoured to surprise the fortress of Knin; a convenient post for securing the maritime towns of Dalmatia.

This place stands at the extremity of a precipitous rocky eminence, overhanging the river Kerka, which winds round a great portion of its base, and separates it from a range of hills to the westward. And such is its position, that it secures every approach from the valley on the south and the plain behind it, and commands some of the principal roads that lead from the interior to the coast.† Great, therefore, was its importance, for watching and counteracting the plans of the

* He was only sixteen years of age.

† See above, Vol. I. p. 211.

Croatian Counts; and Louis ordered the Ban Nicolo Frangipani to besiege it with 4000 men.

Alarmed at this show of hostility, and fearing to draw upon herself the resentment of so powerful a prince, Vladislava, the widow of Nelizio, who held possession of Knin, in the name of her son, then a minor, offered to deliver up the fortress, upon certain conditions; but the proposal of terms, to a monarch who claimed hereditary rights of vassalage, was rejected with disdain; and Louis, at the head of 20,000 men, marched in person, as far as Bihach, in Croatia, resolved to strike terror into the disobedient, and reinstate his authority throughout Dalmatia. Upon this intelligence, the son of Nelizio sent to proffer the unconditional surrender of the fortress; and the other Croatian Counts laid the keys of their strongholds at the feet of the King.

Unintimidated by these successes, the Counts of Bribir, who held possession of Ostrovizza, Scardóna, and Clissa, places in the more immediate vicinity of the coast, and who hoped for support from the Venetians, as well as the people of Spálato, Träù, and Sebeníco, refused to yield to the victorious Hungarian. Louis, on the other hand, though unable without a fleet to attack the maritime towns, waited till a convenient opportunity might offer for obtaining possession of them by force, or persuasion; and subsequent events seemed to favour his hopes.

A.D. 1345.

His increasing influence in Italy, through the co-operation of his brother Andrew, the good will of the people of Ancona, who were jealous of the commercial superiority of Venice, and the power he had acquired in inland Dalmatia, promised him success, and inflamed his ambition. The Venetians felt alarmed; but the progress of the Turks in the East, and their threatened advance towards Europe, tended to draw off their attention for the time from the Adriatic; and Träù, Spálato, and and Sebeníco, began to waver in their resistance to the threats and promises of the Hungarian King. Apprehensions were also felt about Zara, and Nona; situated as they were, at no great distance from the possessions of the Counts of Knin and Corbavia *, vassals of Louis.

For though governed by a Venetian Count, Zara had no foreign garrison; and its security was thought to be sufficiently guaranteed against any aggression of its neighbours, by the friendly understanding that existed with the Counts of Croatia, and by the protection of the Venetian name. The supposed fidelity too of the inhabitants, and the prosperity they had acquired, under the government of the Republic, removed all suspicion of a desire, on their part, to aid the designs of the Hungarian King.

But the cession of the islands, claimed by Sebeníco, had engendered some degree of ill-will in

* The Counts of Corbavia, given by Lucio, see below, p. 271.

the minds of the Zaratines, ever jealous of an infringement of their rights; and the occurrence of other real, or imaginary, grievances, determined them to seek the friendship of the Hungarians. Tràù, Spálato, and Sebeníco, joined in the resolutions of Zara; and ambassadors were sent to Bihach, to solicit the friendship of Louis. The mission, however, failed: the King had left his camp; and they returned without accomplishing their object.

The Venetians were not long in discovering their duplicity; and in order to defeat their designs, before the Hungarians could profit by them, and strike terror into the other towns, they resolved on securing the capital; and the Captain-General, Pietro de Canal, was despatched to Zara with a formidable fleet.

His first step was to send for the Count of Zara, Marco Cornaro, and two of the principal citizens, who were detained until all the property belonging to Venetian subjects had been deposited in a place of security: the Zaratines, on the other hand, proposed to send deputies to Venice; but on the admiral demanding possession of all the forts belonging to Zara, they prepared to oppose him, and sent for assistance to the King of Hungary.

A.D. 1345.

They represented to him the advantages he would obtain by the friendship of a city on the coast, and the triumph that awaited him in the

possession of the maritime towns of Dalmatia. They also offered him the means of transporting his troops to the coast of Puglia, to avenge the murder of his brother; which some supposed to have happened with the connivance of his wife, Giovanna. And now, resolving to manifest their adhesion to Louis, they raised the Hungarian standard, amidst the acclamations of the people; hoping thereby to secure his protection, and convince the Venetians that it was expected. Incensed at this manifest act of defiance, the Venetians pressed the siege of Zara with vigour, and their land forces, under Marco Guistiniani, took up a strongly entrenched position to the eastward of the town, flanked by the sea. It was capable of containing the whole army, and was defended by spacious ramparts, surrounded by walls and ditches, and furnished with twenty-eight lofty wooden towers.* All the country about Zara was laid waste, and the peasants were obliged to take refuge within the city, which then contained upwards of 30,000 inhabitants. Of these 6000 were fighting men, besides many Tuscans, who had been forced to fly from Italy, owing to the wars of the Guelphs and Ghibelines, and had sought an asylum in Dalmatia.

The first attack of the Venetians was directed against the castle of St. Damiano, on the side towards Zara-Vecchia; which, after an obstinate

* Memorie, vol. ii. p. 130.

defence, was taken: the next was on the chain, that closed the port; which being broken, the besieged were closely pressed, both by land and sea. Catapults, and other powerful machines, employed there, have been described by the chroniclers of the times; some of which threw stones into the city weighing 3000 pounds. They are said to have been invented, on that occasion, by an engineer, named Francesco delle Barche; who, the chronicle adds, was one of the first victims of his contrivance; for, having become entangled in the machinery of a catapult, he was thrown with the stone, into the midst of the city he was labouring to destroy. A reinforcement also arrived from Venice, under Marino Faliero, consisting of four large ships, furnished with wooden bridges, and various engines of assault, and carrying 400 soldiers each; together with twenty other long vessels, and supplies for the army.

On the 16th May, 1346, the walls were again vigorously assailed; the battle raged with great fury during the whole day; and night alone prevented the capture of the place; when the news of the approach of Louis, with an army, put a stop to the siege; and the Venetians, threatened in their turn, prepared to oppose the Hungarians. They were also alarmed, at the same moment, by hearing that the Genoese had put to sea with thirty gallies; and these apprehensions continued, until intelligence arrived of their having gone eastward

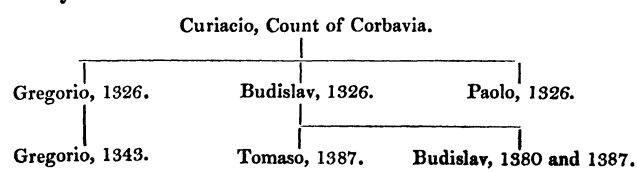
A.D. 1346.

to the siege of Chio. To neglect no precautions that could secure their position, they added new works to their entrenched camp, and their gallies were posted so as to cover and protect their flank.

The King of Hungary soon arrived in the neighbourhood of Zara, and encamped at Semelnich, a spot abounding with water and pasture lands, about six miles from Zara. He was there joined by Stephen, Ban of Bosnia, with 10,000 men; and by the Counts Gregory of Corbavia *, Duino, and Bartolomeo of Segna, and all the other barons and chiefs of Croatia, except the Counts of Ostrovizza, Clissa, and Sardona; and his whole force, composed of Hungarians, Austrians, Styrians, and Bohemians, is said to have amounted to 80,000 men.†

After a halt of fifteen days at Semelnich, Louis suddenly advanced, and planted his standard within bow-shot of the Venetian entrenchments. Some time was occupied in skirmishing, till the Hungarians resolved on attacking the camp. Every arrangement was made for an effectual assault. Some were posted with the necessary means for

* Lucio gives the succession of the Counts of Corbavia, of the family of Gussich:



† Memorie, vol. ii. p. 134.

filling up the ditches, and burning the wooden towers; and all kinds of engines for throwing missiles were advanced towards the entrenchments.

A.D. 1346. On the morning of the first of July, the attack commenced with great fury, and the Venetian camp was assailed by the Hungarians on one side, and by the Zaratines, who sallied out from the city, on the other. But the valiant courage of the Venetians, "who fought like lions," defeated all their attacks; and the calmness of the day contributed greatly to protect the towers from the enemy's fires. Wearied, at length, by repeated assaults, the Hungarians were compelled, after immense losses, to retire from the well-defended entrenchments; 6000 men were left dead, and a far greater number were wounded.

The mortification of Louis was extreme. He had suffered in military reputation with his own army; his credit was shaken with his allies; and his honour was tarnished, by having been guilty of an unprovoked attack upon the Venetians. After three days, having destroyed all his military machines, he broke up his camp, and sent ambassadors to Venice to propose terms of peace, and reconciliation with the Republic; when his offers having been rejected with the contempt they merited, he quitted Dalmatia, and withdrew his shattered forces into Hungary.

The consternation of the Zaratines may be imagined. They did not, however, abandon the

defence of their city without an effort; and though suffering from all the horrors of hunger, it was not until the 25th November that proposals were made for surrendering to the Venetians. Six hostages were then given up, to await the reply of the Doge. The conditions imposed on Zara, though hard, could not be rejected. The privileges they had previously enjoyed were rescinded; the city, with all the forts and castles belonging to it, were ceded to the Venetians; and the troops of the Republic took military possession of Zara, on the 21st of December, 1346. But these successes were not obtained without a great sacrifice; and the siege cost the Venetians upwards of three millions of ducats.

The attention of Louis was too much occupied with the affairs of Naples, to allow him to turn his thoughts to Dalmatia, or continue hostilities against the Venetians. His interests, too, required him to seek their friendship; and, in order to enable him to communicate with Italy by the Adriatic, he proposed and established a treaty with them, for eight years.

In the mean time, the ancient jealousy of Genoa was revived against the Venetians. Louis, invited to join the rival Republic, A.D. 1347. was prevented by the treaty, which no plea could justify him in disregarding; on the other hand, the Venetians requested him not to allow the Genoese to use the port of Segna; when, receiving

an ambiguous and unsatisfactory reply, they took the precaution of sending a mission into Dalmatia, to re-establish a friendly connexion with the Ban of Bosnia, and with Lela, the widow of Count Mladin III., of Bribir*. Lela, with Paul of Bribir, his brother, had been appointed, by her husband's will, guardian of his young son, Mladin IV., and, fearing the ambitious designs of Louis, she had lately entrusted to Stephen Dushan, Emperor of Servia†, the care of Clissa and Scardona, in her name, and in that of her son, with a view to secure them from the Hungarians. The moment was therefore propitious for similar overtures; and Lela availed herself of the assistance of Venice, in securing the possession of those fortresses.

It was then that the castle was built by Ugolino Malabranca, archbishop of Spálato, at Salona‡, to check the robberies of the Servian garrison of Clissa; which, from its position on the high road to the bridge over the Giadro, commanded the approach to the lands of Spálato, where their depredations were principally committed.

A.D. 1348. This period is memorable from the great plague that depopulated Europe, and which has been so vividly described by Boccaccio, an eye-witness of the terrible scenes it caused;

* He was buried in the Cathedral of Träù.

† See the list of Servian Kings in Appendix C., and Farlati, iii. 327. See also above, p. 255. note.

‡ See above, Vol. I. p. 163. Catalinich, vol. iii. p. 64.

when Venice lost more than half her population, and other cities of Italy were afflicted with still greater desolation. All the projects of war and ambition were laid aside, and, by tacit consent, hostilities ceased; but not long after this scourge had passed away, Louis sought secretly to intrigue with the Genoese; and having sent to demand from the Doge the evacuation of Zara, and the other Dalmatian towns occupied by the Venetians, he, on the refusal of the Republic, urged the Genoese fleet to threaten the Adriatic. A.D. 1353.

Every endeavour was made by the Venetians to prevent their rivals gaining a footing in that sea: Zara was reinforced; and a *provveditore* was despatched to the Emperor of Servia *, offering large sums for the possession of Clissa and Sardona. The latter place was soon afterwards ceded to the Doge by agreement; and the combined cities of Spálato, Träù, and Sebeníco were exhorted to remain firm to the interests of Venice; till at length, through the mediation of the house of Visconti, peace was concluded between the two Republics. A. D. 1355.

Louis, who had as yet attempted no open hostilities, was watched with great jealousy by the Venetians; but no sooner did the period of the truce expire, than he refused all other

* The Memorie, (vol. ii. 149.) say "the King of Rascia;" but that country was then part of Servia, under Stephen Dushan, who had taken the title of Emperor of Servia. See Appendix C.

intercourse with the Doge; declared his intention of uniting Dalmatia to his kingdom; and ordered the Ban of Croatia to commence hostilities in that province. He at the same time made a treaty with the Patriarch of Aquileia, and Francesco di Carrara, Signor of Padua.

Alarmed at this intelligence, and at the successes he had obtained in the March of Trevigi, the Venetians proposed to come to terms with the King of Hungary. They even offered to restore the privileges of Zara, and to cede to him some portion of the Dalmatian territory; but, after various offers, and refusals, hostilities recommenced, which were followed by the voluntary admission of the Hungarians into Spálato and Träù, and the expulsion of the Venetian garrisons.

A.D. 1357.

Sebeníco, Brázza, Scardóna, and Nóna, followed their example; and in September, 1357, Zara secretly admitted the Hungarians within its walls, through the treachery of a German prior of Santa Croce. The citadel, which was occupied by the Venetians, still held out; but the loss of their influence throughout the province induced them to come to terms, on the 18th of February, 1358.

The principal stipulations were, that they should renounce all their claims in Dalmatia, from Istria to Durazzo; abstain from giving assistance to any town, or people, opposed to the interests of the King of Hungary; and that the Doge should renounce for ever the title of Duke of Dalmatia

and Croatia. Both parties engaged to refuse admittance to pirates within their ports, or the rebellious subjects of either state; and the infringement of any article was to be subjected to the cognizance of the Pope.

Louis having thus become master of all Dalmatia, together with its islands, turned his attention to the internal administration of the province. To Spálato, Träù, and Sebeníco, he accorded the privilege of being governed by their own laws; but neglecting to draw a line of distinction between those towns which had invited, and those which had yielded to, his authority, he failed in gaining the confidence of his new subjects. The Zaratines were particularly offended in not having their ancient rights respected; the Isle of Pago, taken from them by the Republic in 1346, was not restored; and the castle, which had been garrisoned by the Venetians, was not dismantled. A.D. 1358.

With a view to regulate the internal administration of the province, and establish his jurisdiction on a firmer footing, Louis sent his mother Elizabeth* to Zara, accompanied by certain high functionaries of the kingdom; who continued to govern Dalmatia until the appointment of Charles of Durazzo. For Louis, being without children, had adopted Charles, the son of the Duke of Durazzo, and had destined him for his A.D. 1360.

* Called Elizabeth the elder, to distinguish her from the wife of the King.

heir; until the birth of his daughter Maria altered his intentions, when he made him Ban of Dalmatia.

A.D. 1370. Charles resided some time, with his wife and cousin Margarita, at Zara, where his daughter Giovanna was born, who afterwards succeeded to the throne of Naples, on the death of Ladislas; but in 1376 he left Dalmatia for Naples, where ambition made him forget his obligations to his benefactor Louis, brought misfortunes on himself, and ended in weakening the power of Hungary.

A.D. 1376. On the departure of Charles, the government of Dalmatia was entrusted to the hands of Niccolo di Zeech, who assumed the title of Ban of Dalmatia and Croatia, and Count of Zara.

The principal object of Louis seems to have been to draw as large a revenue as possible from the province, by means of fiscal regulations. A central chamber was established, to which taxes were paid on all goods; and the right of selling salt, which had been previously distributed to families by the commune, was confined to the government. Great complaints were made by many of the towns in Dalmatia, against the innovations of Louis.* They objected to fresh imposts, and to the sacrifice of the interests of one place to those of another; they complained that the industry of the people was checked, by the measures adopted to augment the

* Memorie, vol. ii. p. 168.

revenue; and the attempt to introduce foreign wines was looked upon as a particular grievance. In other matters, however, it seems that the rule of the Hungarians was not objectionable; and the preference given to it by the people, over that of the Venetians, argues greatly in its favour.

The hatred of Louis for the Venetians was not diminished by his successes; and he gladly welcomed the appearance of fresh hostilities on the part of the Genoese, whose fleet entered the Adriatic, and was received in the port of Zara.

The Venetians, under the famous Carlo Zeno, were resolved on making every effort to drive the Genoese from that sea; and after having taken Cattaro from the Hungarians, and deprived the Genoese of that secure position, they went in search of their fleet.* The Genoese had left Zara, and occupied Träù, preferring the position of a port with two outlets, formed by the Isle of Bua; which also commanded the navigation of the open sea. A.D. 1378.

The Venetian fleet, therefore, after pillaging and destroying Sebenico, attacked Träù. The Traurines and Genoese were driven from the Isle of Bua; and fortune seemed to promise complete success to the Venetians; but the following year, great advantages were obtained by the Genoese, who captured thirteen gallies, and advancing north-

* It has been supposed that the Genoese had taken Cattaro; but it was in the possession of their ally, Louis. See Vol. I. pp. 317. 395.

wards, plundered and burnt Rovigo, Omágo, Grado, and Caorle.

In June, 1378, Pietro Doria arrived at Zara, and took the command of the Genoese fleet; the feeble Venetian garrison was expelled from Sebeníco*; and Doria with fifty-two gallies advanced to Chioggia. The danger which threatened Venice, and the result of that expedition, are well known; the shattered fleet of Maruffo Doria took refuge in Zara; and then, finding that their own country was threatened by their victorious enemy, the Genoese withdrew from the Adriatic.

The peace of 1381 followed; and the year after, Louis died, leaving two daughters. Maria, the eldest, succeeded him, and was immediately crowned Queen of Hungary, and betrothed to Sigismund, Marquis of Brandenburg; while her mother Elizabeth, who had seized the reins of government during the illness of Louis, assumed the regency, and administered the affairs of the state for two years. But offended at the great favour which the Queen-Mother showed to the Palatine Nicolo Gara, and disdaining to obey a woman, many of the nobles, and among them Giovanni di Palisna, Prior of Vrana, conspired against the Queens, and determined to place the crown of Hungary on the head of Charles of Durazzo, King of Naples.

A.D. 1382.

Their first object was to gain possession of Zara,

* Some say from Cattaro also. See another account in Vol. I. p. 395.

as a point where Charles might land from Italy; but the revolution was checked by the sudden arrival of the two Queens, accompanied by a large retinue of prelates and barons, at Zara; and the castle of Vrana, which had rebelled at the instigation of the Prior, was reduced to obedience: Giovanni himself was compelled to feign submission; and the Regent's unexpected activity thus frustrated the project of the conspirators. In the meantime the Bishop of Zagabria, under pretext of a journey to Rome, went secretly to Naples, and persuaded the King that he was ardently expected by the Hungarians. Charles therefore set sail from Puglia, and disembarked at Segna; from whence he penetrated through Croatia to Buda, took the Queens prisoners by surprise, and was crowned King of Hungary.

Elizabeth dissimulated her rage and grief; but she remembered the fate of Giovanna of Naples, whom Charles had sacrificed to his ambition; and three months later an assassin laid in wait for him, as he left her apartments, after a confidential conversation, and gave him a mortal wound, of which he died at Vissigrad; where his body lay for years unburied, at the convent of St. Andrew.

The Queen-Mother, once more at liberty, sent for Sigismund to come, and assume the reigns of government; when, finding the barons, who had supported Charles, were disposed to avenge his death, Elizabeth fled with her daughter, to seek an asylum in Dalmatia; where they hoped to find

the people more favourable to their cause. But destiny was adverse to the royal house of Louis: as they journeyed through Croatia, the two Queens were seized by the Ban Harvad, and the Prior of Vrana, in spite of the brave resistance made by their attendants. One of them, indeed, the Palatine Gara, performed prodigies of valour; and though pierced with showers of arrows, which he tore out from himself to fight unimpeded, he obstinately maintained the unequal combat, until a Croatian, creeping under the Queen's carriage, caught him by the feet, and throwing him on the ground, despatched him.*

Elizabeth and Maria were closely imprisoned in the Castle of Novigrad; where the former met her death; either murdered with the sword, or drowned in the waters of the Zermagna †; or, as some say, through grief and despair; and her daughter Maria would have shared the same fate, if the Venetians had not determined to uphold her cause. They sent a fleet, under the command of Giovanni Barbarigo, to cruize off the Dalmatian coast; and the Admiral, having forced the Prior of Vrana to set her at liberty, conveyed her in his galley to Segna, then in possession of the Counts Frangipani, who were her partisans. There she was met by Sigismund, to whom she was shortly afterwards married; and they were crowned King and Queen with great splendour.

* Catalinich, vol. iii. p. 88.

† Daru, by mistake, says the Danube, lib. xi. sect. 4.

The disturbed state of affairs consequent upon these events, favoured the views of Stephen Tuartko *, who had been raised by Louis from the rank of Ban, to that of King, of Bosnia, as an inducement to attack the Rascians. Entering Dalmatia, he obtained possession of Clissa, Cattaro, and Almissa, threatened Zara, and took the military post of Ostrovizza.

Spálato, Sebeníco, and Träù, and the islands of Lesina and Brazza, finding themselves unsupported by the Hungarians, went over to the Bosnian King; Rascia † was conquered, and, in 1391, he added to the kingdoms of Rascia and Bosnia the Duchy of Santo Saba, or Herzegóvina, with great part of Croatia and Maritime Dalmatia.

Tuartko did not long enjoy these successes; he died the following year, and was succeeded by Stephen Dabiscia; who, finding himself abandoned by Vuk Vucich ‡, Ban of Bosnia, and alarmed at the approach of the Turks, was obliged to court the friendship of Sigismund, and ceded to him all his possessions in Dalmatia and Croatia.

Profiting by the dissensions among the Christian

* Tuartko (or Twartko) was the son of Vladislav (Ladislas), the brother of Stephen Cotroman, Ban of Bosnia, who was father of Elizabeth, the wife of Louis. See above, Vol. I. p. 313.

† The southern part of Servia, so called from the river Rashka. It was the ancient Dardania.

‡ In the Memorie he is called Vuco Vulchi, by Appendini Vukcich.

princes, the Turks had pushed their conquests into Europe. They had overrun Bulgaria; and after having, by degrees, acquired an influence in Servia, they obtained entire possession of that country, in 1459. Their first contact with the Servians happened in 1371, when Vukashin, (who had murdered and succeeded Ourosh V., King of Servia,) was defeated by Amurath (Murad); and the Sultan shortly afterwards sent troops into Macedonia and Albania.*

Lazarus Grebelianovich † succeeded Vukashin the same year, and was crowned in 1376, though merely with the title of *Kniaz*, or "prince." ‡ In 1386 he was obliged to send an auxiliary force into Caramania, to aid the Turks; and the following year he made a league with the sovereigns of Bosnia and Bulgaria, and some other princes. But he was defeated, in 1389, through the treason of Vuk Brancovich, and killed in the plains of Kosóvo-pólé §; from which battle may be dated the downfal of Servian liberty. Sultan Amurath (Murad), on the eve of that battle, had been murdered in his own camp by a Servian, called Milosh Obilich ‖; and Stiepan, or Stephen, Lazarovich, was created Despot of Servia by his brother-in-

* For the Kings of Servia, see Appendix C.

† By some called, erroneously, Brancovich.

‡ Or Despot. Kniaz is generally "Count." See Vol. I. p. 26.

§ That is, the "Blackbird's field," or the "field of hay."

‖ Or Kobilich, see Vol. I., pp. 441. 562., and Gibbon (c. lxiv.) who gives another account.

law, Sultan Bajazet *, Ilderim †; under whose banners he fought at the battle of Angóra, in 1402, where Bajazet was taken prisoner by Tamerlane.‡ The Servians behaved, on that occasion, with the utmost bravery; and it was owing to their valour that Bajazet's son was saved from the fate of his father.

On the death of Stephen, in 1428, the Servians made an effort to assert their independence of the Porte; and George Brancovich, his successor, maintained himself, for some time, against the Turks, with the assistance of Hungary, until 1458; when he was deposed, and blinded, through the influence of his brother Lazarus, who died himself soon afterwards. Lazarus's widow, Helena, then obtained from the Pope the investiture of Servia, as a fief of Rome; but the Servians, out of hatred to to the Romish Church, appealed to Sultan Mahomet II. §; the Turkish army entered Servia; and that country was finally conquered in 1459.‖

At the close of the fourteenth century, the Turks having threatened Bosnia, Sigismund levied a formidable army to oppose them: the memorable battle of Nicopolis was fought; and, owing to the imprudent courage of the French, the Hungarians were defeated. Sigismund, with great difficulty, saved his life, by going

A.D. 1396.

* Baiazeed. † The "lightning."

‡ Timoor, or Timoor-lang.

§ Mohammed in Arabic; Mehmet, or Mehmed, in Turkish.

‖ See the Appendix C.

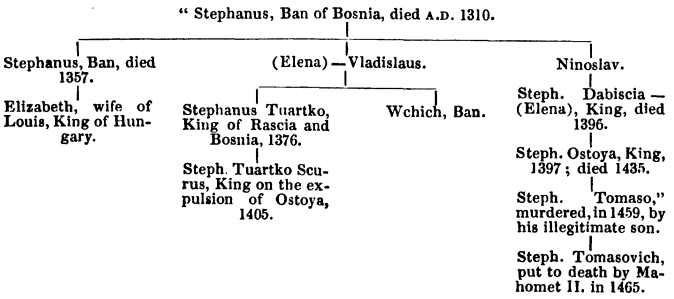
down the Danube in an open boat to the Black Sea; whence he was conducted in safety by the Venetians to Dalmatia; and, after passing the winter at Knin, he returned to Hungary.

The dissensions that followed in that country affected the tranquillity of Dalmatia.

After the death of Maria, Sigismund was no longer looked upon with the same favour, either in Hungary, or in Dalmatia; and the fatal battle of Nicopolis rendered him still more unpopular: cabals were formed against him; and the Dalmatians sent letters to Ladislas, King of Naples, who was of the royal house of Hungary, and son of Charles and Margarita, inviting him to come over, and take possession of the country.* Gladly welcoming their proposal, and with a view to promote his views against Sigismund, Ladislas entered into alliance with Ostoya, King of Bosnia †, who sent

* Catalinich, iii. p. 95. c. 76. Memorie, vol. ii. p. 206. See above, p. 278.

† Or Ostoia. He succeeded Stephen Dabiscia. The Bans, and Kings of Bosnia, according to Lucio, were —


"Stephanus, Ban of Bosnia, died A.D. 1310.
Stephanus, Ban, died 1357.
Elizabeth, wife of Louis, King of Hungary.
(Elena) — Vladislaus.
Stephanus Tuartko, King of Rascia and Bosnia, 1376.
Steph. Tuartko Scurus, King on the expulsion of Ostoya, 1405.
Wchich, Ban.
Ninoslav.
Steph. Dabiscia — (Elena), King, died 1396.
Steph. Ostoya, King, 1397; died 1435.
Steph. "Tomaso," murdered, in 1459, by his illegitimate son.
Steph. Tomasovich, put to death by Mahomet II. in 1465.

a Bosnian force, under the valiant Harvoye, into Dalmatia. Zara at once hoisted the standard of Ladislas; Spálato, Träù, and Sebeníco, soon followed its example; and the Ban of Croatia, who advanced to support the rights of Sigismund, having been defeated and taken prisoner by Harvoye, the whole of Dalmatia openly declared for the King of Naples. A.D. 1401.

Ladislas, recollecting the melancholy fate of his father, was unwilling, at first, to leave his own dominions; until, thinking his cause firmly established in Dalmatia, he went in person to Zara, and was there crowned King of Hungary and Dalmatia by the Pope's legate. A.D. 1403.

His hopes of entering Hungary were soon disappointed: Sigismund had gradually recovered his influence in that country; and Ladislas, at length, resolved on quitting Dalmatia. Leaving a Neapolitan garrison in Zara, and receiving again from the free cities their oath of fidelity, he created Harvoye Duke of Spálato*, and returned to Naples. He then appointed Giovanni di Lusignano Governor-General of the province; but Harvoye, jealous of his authority, and unwilling to submit to a superior, within his own jurisdiction, from a friend became an enemy†; and the whole

* He built the castle, or tower, at Spálato, called after him. See above, Vol. I. p. 118., and general view of Spálato, p. 114.

† See above, the History of Ragusa, Vol. I. p. 320. Appendini says, bribed to it by the *Ragusans*.

country, except Zara, which was in the hands of the Neapolitan troops, abandoned the cause of Ladislas; who, seeing the impossibility of maintaining himself in Dalmatia, sold Zara to the Venetians.

A.D. 1409.

A Provveditore was once more sent to that city; hostages were taken from the principal families; and from that time, the Republic regained its ascendency in Dalmatia. The fear of the Turks also induced many places in the Levant to seek the protection of the Doge.

Sebenico was still divided into two parties; the nobles were in favour of the Venetians, the people sided with the Hungarians. * Trau also held out in favour of Sigismund; and the opportune succours of the Clissans and Poglizzans enabled the solid walls of Spálato to withstand the assaults of the Venetians. But their alliance with Giovanni, Count of Cettina † and Almissa, enabled the Venetians to reduce those cities; the whole country, excepting Ragusa, came into their possession in 1433; and eleven years afterwards, Almissa voluntarily gave itself up to the Republic. The castle of Vissech, built on a rugged rock, on the left of the Cettina, was likewise ceded to them by Ladislas, son of the Herzog Stephen Cosaccia, to prevent its falling into the hands of the Turks; and the fear of this new enemy induced Sigismund

* See above, pp. 95. 101.

† Or Tsettina. The Venetian *ce* is pronounced like *Tse*, or *Tze*.

and the Venetians to conclude a treaty of peace. This, however, did not prevent the Turks from pushing their conquests into Bosnia; and the feeble dominion of the Slavonic princes speedily sank beneath the power of the Sultans. A.D. 1433.

The immediate cause of the invasion of Bosnia by the Turks was the dispute between Tuartko II. and Ostoya Christich, for the throne of that country. The former called the Turks to his assistance; Ostoya the Hungarians: a war between those two nations was the consequence; and the Turks gained considerable footing in Bosnia, about 1415. Ostoya and Tuartko being both dead, Stephen Thomas Christich was elected King; and was obliged to promise an annual tribute of 25,000 ducats to Sultan Amurath II.; thirteen years after which, he was murdered by his illegitimate son, Stephen Thomasovich *, who was crowned by a Papal legate in 1461; and submitted to the Turks. But having refused to pay the tribute, due to the Porte, he was seized, and flayed alive, by order of Sultan Mahomet (1465); and at his death, the kingdom of Bosnia was completely overthrown.† The Turks destroyed Miciaz; the nobles, driven from their estates, fled to Ragusa; and Stephen, *Herzóg*, or "Duke," of Santo Saba, seeing that Turkish garrisons had occupied Popovo, Rogatiza, Tribunio, Tzerniza, and Kerka, became A.D. 1446.

* Or Tomasovich, "the son of Thomas." † Krasinski.

so alarmed, that he offered to pay them increasing tribute; when his ministers refusing to consent to this arrangement, he was obliged to send to Ragusa for his eldest son Stephen, and give him up as a hostage to the Porte; who, having afterwards abjured Christianity, received the name of Ahmet, married a daughter of Bajazet II., and was made a Vizir.* The kingdom of Bosnia, and the duchy of Santo Saba, from that time, became provinces of Turkey, the latter under the name of Herzegóvina, which it still retains, and which it had received from the title of *Herzog* ("Duke"), given by Tuartko to its first governor.

If the successes of the Turks were a source of anxiety to the Republic of Venice, their barbarities caused no less apprehension to the Dalmatians; whose greatest calamities had hitherto been the rivalry of the Hungarians and Venetians; or the passing ravages of the pirates of Almissa. These savage conquerors were neither restrained by horror, principle, nor the common feelings of humanity, from wreaking their fury on the defenceless, or the suppliant; the surrender of a fortress after a brave resistance, under the agreement that life should be respected, did not prevent their exercising every species of cruelty, on those who had trusted to their promises; and the garrison of many a castle in Dalmatia was destined to experience their perfidy.

* Luccari's History of Ragusa, and Appendini.

They even now remain a singular example of one of the old hordes*, that occasionally inundated Europe in by-gone ages; and are the more remarkable from being the only one that has not become amalgamated with the people they have conquered, or been humanised by contact with more civilised neighbours.

A century after their first arrival in Europe, the Turks besieged and took Constantinople, in 1452; and twenty-seven years after this, peace was agreed on, between the Turks and the Venetians; which was again broken, in 1500, in the reign of Sultan Bajazet; when Dalmatia was doomed to suffer for two centuries, from the horrors of the most cruel warfare.

After the Turks had obtained possession of Bosnia and Herzegóvina, they advanced into Dalmatia. Towns and villages were pillaged and destroyed; even the cottages of the peasants were burnt; and they seemed to seek possession of a district, with the sole object of reducing it to desolation. The terrified inhabitants fled to the coast; many took refuge in the islands, where they hoped for safety, under the protection of the Venetian ships; and in order to afford some security to the peasants, who still remained in the lands beyond the hills, the castle of Znoilo was built by the

* This word is evidently the Turkish *ordi*, "encampment." Though modern Turkish is partly composed of Persian and Arabic, the original language, spoken about Khiva, is very ancient.

Traurines; as well as the tower of Bossiglina; and the fortified buildings on the shore, between Träù and Salona, which still bear the name of "*I Castelli.*" *

In 1526, the disastrous battle of Mohatz was fought, between the Hungarians and the Turks; when Louis, and the flower of the Hungarian nobility, lost their lives; and the overwhelming power of Sultan Suleyman, the intrigues of John Zapolski †, Voivoda of Transylvania, who had seized a portion of Hungary, and the advance of the Turks upon Vienna, so paralysed all the efforts of Ferdinand, the brother of Charles V., who had succeeded to the Hungarian throne, that he was no longer in a condition to protect his possessions in Dalmatia.

Clissa was at that time commanded, in the name of the Hungarian King, by Peter Crusich, a man of great courage and military skill. The garrison was strong, and well supplied with the means of sustaining a long siege, and had lately been strengthened by a reinforcement of Uscocs; when the Turks, who had burnt the suburbs, finding that the only hope of capturing the place was by a regular siege, took possession of the fort amidst the ruins of Salona ‡, and the other on the rock of *Sasso* §; with a view to cut off the

A.D. 1536.

* See Vol. I. p. 172. † Or Zapolia. See below, A.D. 1683.

‡ See below, p. 345. the Report of the Venetian Commissioner, dated Sebeníco, and Vol. I. p. 163.

§ Or *Kámen*, "the stone," or "rock." It was afterwards taken and retaken, see p. 212. and Vol. I. p. 118.

resources, and intercept the communications of the besieged. Crusich, resolved to defeat their designs, put himself at the head of a chosen body of men, and attacked the Turks by surprise; but his success was momentary; his small force was overwhelmed by superior numbers; and Crusich himself being killed, his head was fixed on a lance, and displayed in triumph before the walls of Clissa. Terrified at the loss of their leader, and the failure of his sortie, the garrison despaired of being able to hold out any longer against the Turks; and Clissa was given up to them by capitulation, after a siege of one year.* A.D. 1537.

One place after another had now fallen into the hands of the Osmanlis. Knin and Scardona had been taken some years before; the castles of Nadino and Vrana, on the territory of Zara, were burnt; and the Dalmatians, fearing that Znoilo might fall into their hands, destroyed it, and removed the unprotected peasants to the islands.

It was from this period that the mountaineers, called Morlacchi, who fed their flocks on the hills, began to occupy the vallies, and till the farms of the maritime landlords †; and these hardy people, the parents of the present agricultural population of Dalmatia, often did goodly service against the Turks.

The fidelity of the Morlacchi, and of the other Dalmatians, was often tested on those occasions;

* Catalinich, vol. iii. p. 114.

† Memorie, vol. ii. p. 239.

and, two centuries and a half later, the fall of the Venetian Republic gave a still stronger proof of that boundless devotion to the cause they served, which is characteristic of the Slavonians. For, not only were the Slavonian troops, then at Venice, ready to resist the French to the last drop of their blood, but the announcement that they were to deliver up the standard of St. Mark, into the hands of foreigners, was received by them with demonstrations of the most profound grief; they embraced it with tears; and the order for their departure from Venice to Dalmatia seemed to deprive them of the greatest honour they coveted, that of fighting for the cause they had sworn to defend. Nor did their attachment cease, the moment they were released from their allegiance; and Carrara mentions a priest, of his acquaintance, who preserved, with a religious respect, one of those standards, which he displayed every year on the festival of St. Mark; when he always invited some friends to a banquet, and "bathing the lips of the lion with Cyprus wine," called forth those enthusiastic feelings of attachment to Venice, which even her downfal was not able to efface.

The first notice of the Morlacchi is about the middle of the fourteenth century. After that period they began to retire with their families, and flocks, from Bosnia, as the Turks made advances into the country; and, immediately before their entrance into Dalmatia, their principal abodes were in the dis-

tricts of Corbavia and Lika*, to the north and north-east of the river Zermagna. They were already Christians, before their settlement on the Adriatic; and a difference of religion, as well as the fact of their having been expelled from their homes, made them bitter enemies of the Moslem invaders.

Though of the same Slavonic family as the Croatians, and others of that race, some have supposed a difference in their appearance, and a superior physical conformation. But this seems rather attributable to their hardy mode of life, and the advantages of a purer climate; to which the greater muscular development observable in the peasantry of Bosnia, and Herzegóvina, is still to be attributed.

The name of Morlacchi (or Morlakki) is supposed, by Farlati, to be a compound of Greek and Slavonic. He thinks that it was originally *Makro-vlahi*, or *Mavro-vlahi*†; and that they received the latter appellation from their *dark*, or "*black*," colour.‡ This is certainly improbable; and the usually-received meaning of the name, "dwellers on the sea coast," from *Mor*§, "sea," and *Vlah*‖,

* In Croatia.

† Some derive it from *Vlassi*, "powerful."

‡ Some have called them "Black Latins," (Historicus Dalmata, lib. vi. c. 5.); and some think them the same as the Moldavians.

§ A similar word for "*Sea*" is found in Latin, and its derivatives; in Sanscrit; in the Slavonic, and Teutonic dialects; in Celtic, &c.

‖ Vlah is given in Slavonic to all those who do not speak

"inhabitant," is, at all events, more plausible; though it does not apply to the sea coast of the Adriatic, which they only reached at a late time; but to the Black Sea, from which they are said originally to have migrated.

A peace was concluded in 1541 between Venice and the Porte. But this respite did little to diminish the terror of the Turkish name in Dalmatia; and various grievances constantly kept up a feeling of hostility, and the prospect of a future rupture. At length, in 1570, hostilities recommenced between the Porte and the Venetians, on the accession of Sultan Selim, which brought a return of former evils upon Dalmatia; and, soon after war had been declared, Dazlina and Rachitniza, near Sebeníco, and Zemonico, in the territory of Zara, with many other places, were seized by the Turks.

The following year the island of Lesina was taken by a Turkish fleet, when the town was pillaged and burnt; Durazzo and Antivári, in Albania, were captured; Budua was pillaged, and nearly all destroyed; and the forts of Salona and Sasso, which had been retaken by the Venetians, were given up to the Osmanlis; one through the treachery of a soldier, the other through the cowardice of the commandant. Spá-

A.D. 1571.

German, and even to the Latins. The name is the same as Valachi or Walachians. Anna Comnena calls the Bulgarians "*Ulahos*," or "*Vlahos*," lib. viii.

lato, surrounded by the enemy, and possessing a very small garrison, felt great apprehensions for its security; Zara, and other cities on the coast, found their territory endangered by the advances of the Turks; and this was one of the most anxious periods in the history of Dalmatia.

The struggles between the Venetians and Suleyman the Magnificent, the war in Cyprus, the victory of Lepanto, and the state of the Levant, at this period, are well known; and as they are not connected immediately with the condition of Dalmatia, it will, perhaps, be more relevant to introduce some extracts from a diary, kept at Spálato by an agent of the Venetian Government; which will explain the nature of the desultory warfare carried on by the Turks in that country, and which are peculiarly illustrative of the customs of the day.

DIARY OF THE YEAR 1571.*

"ORAZIO d' Ascoli, who had a hundred men under his command, being posted towards Träù, received tidings from his spies one evening, about half an hour before sunset, that a large body of Turks was stealthily moving that way. Whereupon the said Captain sallied forth, but had hardly gone two miles, before he discovered that the Turks had been the whole morning in the country, sacking and

* Documenti Storici, published by Solitro, from the Records in the Library of St. Mark. Class. 7. cod. ccx.

burning at their good pleasure; and ere he could recover from his surprise and rage, he saw two unfortunate creatures coming towards him, who excited the pity of all the soldiers.

"They were two boys, about sixteen years old, or perhaps not so much; and they related how the Turks had been in their village all the morning, pillaging the houses, and seizing the women and children; and how, when they were retreating, the screams of those poor wretches had spread the alarm in the surrounding country, where the men were out at work; who, furiously snatching up any weapons that came to hand, rushed like madmen on the Moslems, and engaged in fierce conflict. They told how, because the Turks were well armed, they made great havoc among our men; who, nevertheless, defended themselves bravely, and would not yield, but came on shouting, 'You shall never have us alive, Turkish dogs, take our dead corpses,' and calling upon St. John and the Madonna.

"And when the Turks made a circle of their people, and put the spoil with the poor innocents in the middle, and our men had nearly lost all hope of saving them, the women with their hands, or with the weapons they found scattered on the ground, assaulted the enemy in the rear, and forced the circle. The enraged Turks then began to massacre the women; whereupon the little boys, taking from their pockets the slings they used to play with, aimed stones at the enemy; and more than one struck home, and felled some of those butchers. But all would have been in vain, if a rumour had not spread that help was at hand, and that every moment might bring a large troop of our horse to the rescue; when, just as the Turks began to give way a little, behold! on the mountain was seen a woman arrayed in white robes, who, when she looked towards our

people, made the sign of the cross, and smiled, and when she turned towards the Turks, menaced them with her hand, and wept. Whereupon the Turks took to flight, leaving all their booty behind them, without carrying off a single soul, save one young boy and girl, aged thirteen, who happened to be tied on the back of a Turk's horse; so when the Turk fled, he took them away with him. But it was reported that these poor little ones were wounded and dying, and the Reverend Father Bartolemeo, who was looking from a neighbouring height, whence he could (with safety) see all that was going on, said that he saw these two children expire, after the Turk had gone a short distance, and beheld, rising from the saddle, two doves, one after the other, hovering on the wing, over our country, and continuing their flight towards the east. So it was believed by all that these were the two young martyrs, in the form of angels, ascending to heaven.

"And the youths said besides, that although now they were free, there would not have been so many tears, if they had been all carried off in the morning, before the men in the fields were aware, for more than half had been killed, and all were bewailing the loss of one or other of their kindred. They themselves had lost both father and mother, two sisters, and three brothers, and had escaped alone of all their house, and would fain die also. Their tale would have been scarcely believed, had not their tears and despair shown that what they said was true.

"Very soon, more unhappy fugitives flocked in, and all confirmed the same sad tidings. It is impossible to describe the compassion they awakened in the soldiers, who cried like so many children. But when all were silent, a soldier, named Antonio Ralich, sprang forth, with naked sword, and outstretched arm, and kneeling in the presence

of all, swore to the great God, and the Blessed Virgin, that three days should not pass ere the Turks paid dearly for what they had done. 'Comrades,' he cried, 'swear!' —and all took this oath: 'May we die if we seek not vengeance.'

"The excellent Captain himself applauded his enthusiasm, and commanded a march forthwith to the scene of the misfortune. When they arrived, the soldiers carried away the dead, and bound up the wounds of those who lay bleeding on the ground. The Captain spoke kindly to all the people, and sent the two poor youths to the Curate's mother, that they might be taken care of. And then, they did nothing more that day."

"*August* 12.

"The Captain Orozio d' Ascoli having sent tidings of the above-mentioned occurrence to the Marquis Rongonis, at Zara, was by the said Marquis commanded to keep watch and ward perpetually, lest the Turks should again make their appearance."

"*August* 29.

"Captain Orozio d' Ascoli was summoned, in all haste, towards Sebeníco and Scardona, where the Turks were scouring the country in every direction, and he came up with them at a village not far from Sebeníco: on which a great battle took place. These same Turks had been fighting the day before with our people; who were worsted, and would have been positively annihilated had not Andrea del Sale, of Ravenna, come up with his troop of 120 brave fellows, who extricated them from the peril.

"On this day, a very strange combat took place, between a Morlacco, Simon Gospich, and one of the Turks, who had been taken as a spy, and let go the day before. One

man had fired an arquebus after him, telling him that they should meet again some day or other, when he would teach him how spies ought to be served; and so it fell out: for to-day they were both in front, and on horseback, and set at each other heartily.

"Every one left off to look; but their horses were shy and recoiled, on which account they could do nothing. So they both dismounted and drew their swords. The Morlacco did not want to kill the other outright, if he could help it, but the Turk hung back, like a Turk as he was, whereupon the Morlacco began pommelling him with his fists, and with the hilt of his weapon. While thus at work, by bad luck, he killed his own horse; for, rushing about wildly, it happened to come close up to them, and received a mortal thrust in the side; whereat the Morlacco, enraged, turned to kill the Turk; but he meanwhile, having mounted his own horse, rode away, and so our brave Gospich was forced to be contented, and let him go."

"*September* 3.

"At dawn of day a felucca was discovered opposite to Zara, which did not look like a Venetian vessel, and coasted along close to shore. Whereupon Hector Tron, the worthy Provveditore of Zara, immediately ordered out two gallies to reconnoitre. The gallies came back and reported that the felucca had put to land at St. Filippo, and disembarked ammunition and provisions; also, that they had observed a great stir among the Turks, and that it behoved us to be watchful, for the enemy was not sleeping.

"The Provveditore instantly took counsel with the Marquis, and all the Colonels and Captains present: when it was decided that, if the Turks seemed disposed

to fight, we ought to begin the attack, to show we did not fear them. Colonels Giulio, Savorgnan, and Chierigatto, and Captains Joseph Starga and Muzio Fingoli da Rimini mustered their men, and found them right loyal, and eager for the fight.

"The utmost agitation and confusion reigned all day throughout the city. Women were at the windows, looking out for their husbands, and beseeching them to return to their homes. Some, braver hearted, encouraged them to take their arquebuses, and sally forth. From all sides the wretched peasants crowded in, for safety, with their flocks, pale and trembling, scarce daring to draw breath till they were inside the gates. One poor creature, flying with her companions, entered the town hardly able to move, with two infants at her breast, and staggering forward a few paces, sank down on the earth, holding out her children in her arms, that some good Christian might take compassion upon them, and expired in the sight of all the people there assembled.

"That evening we heard no fresh news; but, towards midnight, fires were seen scattered about the country, at some little distance, and there was a noise of shouting and feasting. And they came merrymaking, under the very mouths of our cannon, knowing we durst not fire by night, because their front ranks are always Christian prisoners.

"They had taken on the road two priests, Ante Beglich and Franizzo Starich. Franizzo, who was a jovial fellow, feasted and made friends with them, and told them divers marvellous legends of our saints; for the Turks like listening to miracles; and one of them, a priest of their own, said that the Messiah was a great friend of the prophet Mahomet; whereupon Franizzo replied that Mahomet was no holy man at all, for which the Turk gave him a

hearty blow; while all the time Ante Beglich, who was timid and scrupulous, kept weeping and telling his beads. These things we heard in the morning, from a Morlacco, who escaped by throwing himself into the sea, about three miles below Zara, creeping along, up to the chin in water all night, that he might not be discovered.

"Next morning the Turks had the exceeding arrogance to summon us to surrender the city. The Provveditore replied that they might come and take it. Whereupon the enemy opened a furious cannonade, which made a breach, and they began the assault, but were repulsed with signal loss.

"One Zuane Catich, of Zara, a brave and honest citizen, was on the breach with his three sons; and, praying God, took good aim at the enemy. A certain renegade, Luca Lucovich, by name, a giant in stature, — who had been the worst of Christians, and at last was forced to fly for fear of the gallows, having murdered his own sister, — came to the breach, and shouted to Zuane Catich, 'Villain, thy forefathers tilled the earth for my house: I will pay thee for daring to set thyself up against me.' So he fired his arquebus, and struck to the heart one of the sons, who had thrown himself before his father, and then rushed on with his dagger, to despatch the others; but such was not the will of God; for it happened that some boys of Zara were, at their great peril, standing by, looking on, and one of them, who certainly could not have been more than eleven years old, slung a stone at him, which hit him, and put out one of his eyes. In his pain and rage, the vile renegade, turning to escape, stumbled over the loose stones in the breach, and our people immediately laid hold of him; upon which the Provveditore, after having reproached him with his past career, and represented to him that God

was just in permitting him to be overcome by a child, ordered him to be hung up forthwith on the Bastion.

"Meanwhile, Colonel Chierigatto sallied forth on their rear, with two hundred men, of whom one half were Morlacchi, who fought like devils, and made great slaughter of the enemy; but as they are greedy of spoil, every one they killed they wanted to strip first, and then fight again; whereupon the Colonel commanded that no spoil should be taken, without his permission.

"The Turks, assailed in the rear, began to lose heart and give way, but almost immediately rallied, with loud cries and shouts. Whereupon Antonio Ralich, the same who took the oath near Träù, called out furiously to his comrades, 'Faithless cowards, worse than women, ye cannot remember a vow from one day to another! Away! forsworn! I will go alone, and show you that I at least can keep my oath;' and with these words he spurred his good horse into the very middle of the foe, and slashing right and left with his stout sword, espied the self-same Turk, that had bound those two poor children, who died in the flight of the Moslems; for he was boasting under the walls a few hours before, how he had been the only man that day, who carried away captives, and all who heard believed that he spoke of the children who expired, fastened on the horse. So Antonio Ralich flew upon him, and boiling with rage, shouted, 'Dog of a Turk! those blessed children went to Paradise, but I will send thee to Hell.'

"Thus saying, he charged him right manfully, and gave him such a furious thrust in the thigh, that the blade passed right through to the other side, and as he fell to the earth, Antonio's horse trampled on his dead body. Whereat all our men raised a great shout, and cried, 'Long live

Ante! long live Ante! Glory be to our Lady, and blessed St. Sime! hold together, and follow Ralich.'

"And truly we were much comforted this day, for the Turks retreated quite dispirited to their towers, and intrenchments; albeit, to speak truth, we did not take any of these same towers, nor drive them away out of any of their posts."

September 27.

"To-day we had tidings from Spalato of all that has happened there of late. It seems that, on the 20th of this month, Captain Francesco Antonio Martelli arrived there with a handful of peasants, and took up his quarters outside the gates, towards Salona, where the danger was greatest. The enemy kept very quiet, but were seen riding about the country, in large bodies; and their insolence increased daily.

"On the 18th of the same month, they seized a parish priest, on the outskirts, towards Salona, and ill-treated his sister and niece; after which they took away his priest's hood, and put on his head one of their Turkish turbans, all dirty; telling him if he kept it, and put it on whenever he saw them, they would not do any harm to him, or his house. The poor priest hastened straightway to Spalato, and related how he had overheard the enemy talk of preparations to make a great attack, at all points, upon our intrenchments, next day.

"Whereupon it was agreed, that Captain Martelli should remain to watch outside the walls; which, when the peasants of the village round Spalato heard, they came in a great rage to complain of the affront, declaring that they would have guarded the confines themselves, and were always ready to die in defence of their homes, and their wives and children. The Rettore praised their good will, and

supplied arms to those who had none; for the greater part had come armed with pitch-forks, and scythes, or clubs of wood and iron; but even with these they said they should know how to defend themselves well.

"On the 27th, then, about an hour after sunrise, the Turkish horsemen were seen approaching; whereat our people were seized with a panic, and refused to stir. The captains prayed, and swore; 'How is this, children? Do you wish the Turks to walk quietly into your houses? What will the world say? and the Serene Prince?' At this moment came an old peasant woman, and said, 'Behold! I am from the death-bed of the holy nun, the lay sister Magdalene; with her last breath she foretold that the victory should be ours this day:' and hardly were the words out of her mouth, when a great storm of thunder and lightning arose, with violent wind, which even carried away the turbans of the Turks; and the rain poured down with such force, that the roads became so many torrents. The enemy's horses were sorely affrighted at this tempest (sent surely to our aid); and the peasants, in the midst of the storm, ran furiously upon the enemy, killing twenty out of two hundred horsemen, taking more than thirty prisoners, and wounding many others, who afterwards fell into our hands.

"All the chiefs, and the Rettore, cried out, 'Now is the moment to recover the tower of Salona, and perhaps even the castle of the Archbishop*;' and already the Spalatines were rushing towards them; when the aforementioned priest said they had better not, because the Turk lay prepared, and, if they attacked with so few horses, would surely come out with his cavalry, and finish them all;

* See above, p. 292. and Vol. I. p. 163.

moreover, that it was not God's will that Spalato should thus be thrown away.

"At these words of the priest, the chiefs took counsel, and agreed they had done enough for that day, and should rest content with the spoil and the victory.

"The following day they celebrated a grand procession; and all the city was decked with tapestry and banners; and the reverend priests, at the cathedral, sang a mass for the benefit of the soul of Sister Magdalene. And there was great merrymaking and rejoicing, to the marvellous content and comfort of the citizens. Amongst other divertissements they had a 'Joust of Barbarians;' wherein Turks combated against Moors; then a dance of maidens, under the palace of the Rettore, and the palaces of the nobles; and afterwards a great boxing-match, wherein one man was badly handled, and carried home for dead; nevertheless he did not die after all, but recovered. Moreover, a sermon was preached in the Piazza, by the Reverend Father Anselm da Rimini, whereat the people wept and beat their breasts; and after that, the Litany of our Ladye; and with this the feast concluded."

"*October* 6. 1571.

. . . . . "The same day, about dinner-time, were espied 150 Turkish horse advancing, and again we were called to arms; when about thirty of our cavaliers sallied forth, and had a parley with the Turks. They offered to break a lance with one of us; and this agreed, the Red Turk, all arrayed in crimson, with a turban of the same colour on his head, ran a tilt with Captain George, and pierced his horse right through the head, from the right ear even to the left, so that he fell down dead: but Captain George, with his lance, bore off the Turk's turban, whereupon

they held further discourse; and Captain George complained that his horse had been slain, contrary to the usages of knightly combat, but as the Turk promised, on his honour, to send him another within four days, they embraced each other, and separated."

"8.

"The illustrious Provveditore issued a command for the general muster of all the infantry in Zara; but as the companies were assembling, there appeared in sight one hundred Turkish cavaliers, four of whom advanced so near as to pass the outposts, and shouted out that they had brought the horse for Captain George, in lieu of his own, which had been killed, as before related: — which message being taken to the Signor Provveditore and the Signor Marquis, they ordered the muster to be deferred to another day, and the gate to be opened, and a guard to go forth, consisisting of a good number of infantry, to protect the intrenchments. The cavalry were called out also.

"The gate having been opened, the Signor Valerio Chierigatto went out first, with his two companies, and afterwards there followed a strong body of our cavalry and infantry. The Turks also increased their force, dividing themselves into small parties. Some of them sought to parley with our men, and would fain have persuaded them that they only came to escort the horse, promised by the Red Turk to Captain George, and to break a few lances again in another tilting match; when our men replied, that 'they did well to bring the horse, which was fairly owed, to Captain George; and further, if they wanted to run a tilt, they would find their match ready.'

"But there was no response; — till at last a Turk, without any lance, came forward, and throwing three

letters on the ground, right before our horsemen's noses, turned his back at a good pace. The letters were picked up, and taken to the Signor Provveditore; and it is said they were addressed to Captain Matteo, the Ragusan, but nobody knows the purport. After this, seeing that they would give no answer, they were saluted with a good cannonade; being first well abused, and reproached by us with their bad faith; and so they retired with small credit. They also showed themselves to-day in strong force, computed to be at one time above a thousand mounted cavaliers."

"18.

"At dawn of day was descried the galley Giustiniana, approaching from the Levant, with sail and oar, at her utmost speed, and when she came opposite to Zara, she sent off a boat with the news that we had completely beaten the Turkish fleet, and immediately pursued her way to Venice, laden with honourable spoil. In another hour, the galleys of Giustiano and Pasqualigo hove in sight, making for the harbour; which, on entering, saluted with all the artillery on board, the city replying with ringing of bells, and forty rounds of cannon. The aforesaid tidings having been confirmed, and a thousand reports circulated about an hour afterwards, all the guns round Zara and the fortress (which may count 109 pieces, of various sizes) were fired in the midst of great rejoicings; the mass of the Holy Trinity was also sung in all the churches; and in the evening, innumerable bonfires blazed all over the city; and within the fort, towards the mainland, the soldiers kept up a grand discharge of fire-arms.

"The tidings were these. On the 7th of October, 1571, our fleet, being just off the Curzolari, at ten o'clock in the day, descried the enemy's fleet, coming out of the Gulf of

Lepanto, with all sail spread, and bearing down upon us; at which sight each captain cleared his galley for action, and took up his order of battle; some in the main body, and some in the advanced columns. And immediately Signor Giovanni Andrea Doria, commander of the right squadron, put out to sea, fetching a circle of eight miles, to extend the line of battle, and towed the large galleys, two to the van of the centre, and two to the van of each column, the better to take advantage of his artillery; upon which, the enemy advanced pell-mell, under the notion that we were flying, and that he was giving us chase.

"We had 205 light gallies and 6 large galleons, and they had 245. Perceiving at last, to their utter astonishment, that we received them in battle array, they were disheartened (at least so say the prisoners), and extending their line, bore up in three squadrons, but in the greatest confusion; and the large gallies began to fire their cannon, with very bad aim, at their adversaries. Ali Pacha, with 100 gallies, came to close quarters, with grappling irons, upon our vanguard; the cannonade waxed furious; and all fought valiantly for a short space; till the reserve of thirty gallies, under the Neapolitan captain, appeared in the offing; when the enemy lost heart, and were in two hours all destroyed and taken, — some sunk, and others burnt. Fifty-five of their best vessels made a bold attack on our left wing; but seeing the battle was hopeless, they were panic-struck, and as many as were not disabled tried to save themselves; some ran ashore, and a few succeeded in getting off.

"Uluz-Ali, with about thirty gallies, forced his way through our fleet, and escaped. But he made a hard fight first, and sunk eight or ten of our gallies; and in this quarter, perhaps, the enemy would have had the advan-

tage, had not Uluz-Ali, seeing their main body and left wing overcome, and His Highness with a strong force, bearing down to the rescue, decided to save himself whilst he could, and so fled out of reach of pursuit. Ten gallies, which were keeping off, as if for a reserve, perceiving that the victory was ours, sailed away to Lepanto; and thus terminated this glorious battle, with small loss to us, and the utter destruction of eighty of the enemy's gallies. And thanks be to Almighty God, to whom alone we owe this glorious victory."

"16.

"About vespers, twenty Turkish horsemen were seen approaching, three of whom advanced within speaking distance, and were very desirous to know the cause of the rejoicing this morning; but as we did not choose to satisfy their curiosity, they went away as wise as they came."

"17.

"Orders being issued for a solemn procession of three days, to return thanks to Almighty God, for the victory given to the Christians; while the ceremony was preparing, the Turks were espied coming towards the city, in three squadrons, and immediately the alarm was sounded to arms.

"A strong body of infantry, and all the cavalry, sallied forth; and the Turks detached ten cavaliers to hold a parley, and demand the reason of the rejoicings in Zara.

"The excellent Signor Provveditore returned for answer, that if they wished to know the cause of this rejoicing, they must send some cavalier of distinction, to whom he would impart the same; and so, under a safe conduct, came the Dasdar (or, Governor) of Zermonia, and was conducted into the city by the Signor Provveditore, who related to him the tidings of the victory,—and the Signor

Marquis gave him besides the report in writing; and so he forthwith took leave, and was reconducted to his own people, accompanied by the captains of the cavalry, who mistrusted his admittance greatly.

"In the evening the rejoicings continued, the same as yesterday."

"21.

"Captain Matteo, of Ragusa, pledged his honour yesterday to the Dasdar, to hold this day mortal combat with a Turk; while his nephew should run a tilt with another; notwithstanding which, the Signor Provveditore absolutely forbade the gate to be opened, because of the procession; which, moreover, he insisted on all the soldiers attending. So the companies were assembled in the great square, and the solemn procession, bearing many precious relics, enshrined in silver and gold, and jewels of price, passed through the line of foot soldiers drawn up four deep, behind whom were the lancers, then the bannermen, and then the arquebusiers. The procession lasted till very late; and when it was over, everybody went home, a solemn mass having been sung, for the blessed souls of the Christians, who died on the day of the glorious victory."

"27.

"Our people being intoxicated with joy, continued to feast and make merry; without much regard to the enemy outside their gates. The same tidings arrived at Spalato and Träù; and there were the same thanksgivings, and prayers to Almighty God, for the souls who departed this life on the late glorious occasion.

"One poor woman, whose only son had been taken from her in the levy, the year before, went every day (as her neighbours affirm) to inquire of the Rettore after her child; and at length ceased to hear any tidings of him.

However, the self-same day of the happy victory, this woman, who used to pray in the church all day long, and lived on penances and tears, and was on this account esteemed by everybody a saint, came from her village to Spalato, to offer up supplications at the cathedral, and at all the churches and oratories; — and at nightfall she took shelter in the refuge for poor peasant women, in the convent of the nuns.

"But at dead midnight, the other peasants lodging there were aroused with a piercing shriek, and deep groans, and knew not what they were, nor from whence they proceeded; and the holy sisters, in alarm, thronged in from the convent, with lights and the blessed crucifix, supposing it to be a visitation of evil demons; and forthwith began to exorcise the poor afflicted woman; — but the woman signed herself, and said, 'In the name of God! this is no work of the enemy,' and withal affirming that she had something to relate, she entreated them all to return to rest till the morrow, when they should know the whole.

"Whereupon, the sisters and their guests betook themselves to the chapel, and repeated litanies, and prayers, and sang psalms till daybreak; — and then the woman went to the superior, and began her tale; but sobs choked her speech, and the Abbess repulsed her, saying it was a device of the devil, upon which the poor afflicted woman replied, with tears, 'Illustrious and reverend Lady, this is now the sixth night that I have dreamed a dream, every night the same dream, — and yesterday I journeyed to Spalato, to confess and ask counsel; when it came into my mind to wait till to-day; and last night, when all slept, I saw the same vision, and I cried out and sobbed, as I have done every time in my own home; for my child appeared to me, all bloody, and stark, and disfigured, and fixing his

eyes on me, whispered, 'Mother! we have beaten the Turks on the sea, and the dead are in paradise;' and every time he says the same. And so I came to Spalato, to tell, and be confessed.'

"The Abbess, however, and the Rettore, thought lightly of the story, and would not believe it, though all the people were against their opinion. Nevertheless, afterwards it turned out to be nothing but the holy truth; and I have judged fit to relate the same, to show the certain and visible protection of our blessed Lord, and our holy patron saint.

"Many other similar events happened, worthy of faith and record. For instance, Luca Jablanaz, returning to his farm, upon the borders near Salona, the evening of the 22d of August, met with an aged man with a wallet at his back, so poor and tattered, that it was a wonder how his garments held together. Luca asked him 'where he came from?' but he would not tell, and begged an alms for charity's sake. Our countryman, whose good heart we all know, gave him some bread and cheese, and a small piece of money for drink, and then went on his way. Luca had scarce gone about thirty paces, when he heard a great noise behind, which made him turn his head suddenly, and, behold! he saw three men of wonderful aspect, clad in green, wrestling with the old man; and when the old man perceived that Luca was looking, he took up some earth, and scattered it upon the heads of the three warriors, whereupon they were no more to be seen, but vanished by enchantment, like smoke.

"Jablanaz gazed, and crossed himself, and exclaimed, 'Father, for mercy's sake, who art thou? and for what reason dost thou appear on our border?' The ancient only replied, 'Go home, good Luca, and proclaim the

tidings that your Christian host in the Levant will fight, and gain a glorious victory,' whereupon the old man's countenance shone like a bright flame, and he disappeared, and has never been seen, or heard of, in this country.

"Jablanaz returned to the city, and told his tale; and the priest said there was reason to hope in God. Then the hermit came; and the priest, and the people all opened their mouths to relate the story; howbeit the hermit would not listen to them, but said he knew it all, and that they had better make a feast, and eat and drink, that same night, since the morrow was a fast. About forty of them accordingly divided into parties, at two or three of the houses, and the hermit and the priest were the guests of Luca.

"Nevertheless the Rettore would believe nothing of it whatever. But the people, after the feast, collected in the square at midnight, by the light of the moon, to hear the hermit preach; threatening the evil-doers, and anathematising those who lead a bad life; and then he blessed the people, and departed."

"23.

"Orders came to Zara, from the most serene and illustrious government, to keep the bastions and strongholds well victualled and garrisoned; to which intent a galley was dispatched, with arms and other stores; — likewise a levy was required of 200 men, to serve in the gallies, from Träù, Spalato, and the islands.

"The same day, towards evening, six Turkish cavaliers came under the walls, to propose a tilting match. Six of ours went out to meet them, and everybody rushed to the walls and housetops, to see the sight. Each cavalier kissed his adversary on the forehead, before they began. It was a capital joust, honourable to both sides; for only one of

the enemy, and Jacove, of Almissa, were unhorsed. Both bled plentifully from the nose and mouth, but a little good brandy soon set them all to rights again, and the combatants separated.

"A Turk then sent a request to the Lord Marquis, that he might be permitted to enter our churches, and attend mass, but this was not granted; albeit it was refused with great courtesy. It was suspected that this was the Turk who fell in love with the Marquis's daughter, whom he had seen two years before, when the Marquis was at Nona, and he came with the Dasdar (governor) of Clissa, about that peace, which was never kept after all."

"24.

"Two days ago, three boats of islanders, from Brazza, ran for shelter towards Almissa, from the bad weather we have had lately. They had been buying grain, at the port of Spalato, from a vessel of Rimini, and were returning to their own country, when the storm drove them near Almissa. Before long, they perceived that they were watched by some armed men, whom they knew, by their turbans, to be the enemy; and the weather taking up, they hastily embarked, and put off in great confusion, since they saw a spy at the top of the hill make signals with his hands to somebody beneath; and then they watched him disappear, and come out again lower down, and speak to a body of men, who were running. So these poor people fled with all speed; and they had not put out from shore three good arquebus' shot, before the enemy were on the beach, making signs to them, and threatening them with their swords.

"But making sure of escape, they rowed quietly on, without troubling themselves; when, all of a sudden, one of the

women at the oar, in Duje Bacich's boat, letting go her hold, began to tear her hair with both hands, and screaming out, 'Paval,' fell down, as if struck dead, in the bottom of the boat. The agonised mother had discovered that her child was not there,—he had been left on shore, in the confusion; and turning round, they saw the boy among the Turks, crying, and making frantic signs with his arms, that they should return.

"The poor father wanted to steer back, but the crew refused to venture their lives for one child: and in vain would the father have prayed and cried, commanded and threatened, had it not been for the noble conduct of Gregorio of Almissa, (a youth of about twenty-four, who had embarked near Almissa to cross to the island); but he made such a touching appeal to the crews, representing the boy's tender, innocent, age, and Christ's precepts of mercy, that the boats' crews agreed (in all thirteen men, and ten women) to put back to land.

"The boy kept crying, 'Come back, for the love of Jesus: do not leave them to kill me! Father, father, look in the boat. Your Paolo is not with you.' The Turks were on the point of killing him, when they were prevented by their chief, who remembered how that, a long time ago, a Christian of Sasso (when Sasso* was ours) sent back from the fortress his two children and a servant, whom we had surprised and carried off, on account of their tender years.

"So it was agreed to let the boy go, and restore him without ransom; the Turk promising to pay his soldiers the share which would have been theirs. But they did not promise to abstain from robbery, so they fined the

* Or Kámen, the fort mentioned above, p. 292.

islanders twelve *zecchini**; and as they had no money, they disembarked six measures of wheat, counting two *zecchini* the measure;—grain being very dear on account of the war; for there is little or none in the country, owing to the scarcity last year and the year before; and indeed, it grows more and more costly every year since the war began, by which foreign vessels profit; but every thing has an end, with the aid of heaven.

"To return to my story,—it was a fine sight, when the little boy was restored to his mother, and all embraced him; and his mother ran to embrace the Turk also, crying and sobbing, and every body's heart melted, even the enemy's likewise: whereupon they parted like the best of friends, and went each their own way."

"27.

"Yesterday, at three o'clock, a circumstance occurred, which made a wonderful sensation, and which I shall relate according to the most faithful information; a great deal indeed being from the testimony of my own eyes. Simeon Alberti, a noble of this place, had succeeded to a certain property at the death of the late Canon Alberti; when the possession of the estates was disputed by Sime Gelicich, called Baciccio, a good and honest citizen. However, the rights of the said Alberti were confirmed by a sentence of the tribunal of Padua; the which notable injustice broke the heart of Baciccio, and he died of grief. His son, Piero Baciccio, a young man not twenty-six, finding himself deprived of his inheritance, and persecuted by the Albertis, fled with his mother to Salona, and afterwards, for better security, to Clissa; where the Turks

* Called Zecchini, from Zecca, the "mint;" and corrupted into sequins.

made him first secretary to the Dasdar, and gave him besides the command of a troop of cavalry.

"The same had sworn to knock on the head as many of the house of Alberti as he could lay hands on; for Elena Alberti was his ladyelove, and Luca Alberti, the head of the family, when he asked her in marriage, had spurned him from his palace, as a low and vile mechanic, and had ordered his followers to horsewhip him; but Baciccio knit his brow, drew his dagger, and the menial retreated. Upon this he fled; and promised the enemy, by his soul, if they would give him fifty horse, to return in the evening with such a booty as never was known before. So yesterday he came; and completely taking our guard at the outposts by surprise, he killed two, and badly handled many; and then pushed on to Spalato, where the fugitives spread the alarm before him.

"One of the youths of the Alberti family, who was a cornet, collected his men in haste, and went out to meet him. Baciccio, espying him, immediately spurred on his horse, crying out furiously, 'What! can only one be found to come, out of so many? but he is enough for the present, and I advise him to take care of himself.' The young man put himself on his guard, and the fight began.

"We and the Turks took our hands off our weapons, to see the sight; when, all of a sudden, a fit of remorse seized Baciccio, and he became calm, and wished to avoid killing his adversary; but having challenged him, he thought he could not in honour draw back, so he contented himself with standing on the defensive. At length, the young man made a well-aimed blow at his breast, which he parried, and received on his arm; whereupon, feeling himself wounded, Baciccio lost his temper, and set to work in good earnest; pointing his sword at Alberti's

breast, which the blade was on the point of entering, when he perceived that the young man wore a scarf, which he knew to be the work of Elena, with her name embroidered thereon. At the sight of it he tried to stop his hand; but despite his endeavours, the weapon pierced deep into the shoulder; from whence the blood rushed out like a wine vat; upon which Baciccio, in despair, took Alberti in his arms, and began to lament, and call for help.

"The Turks were greatly astonished, and we not less so, being unable to understand this marvellous change of mood. However some ran to fetch Rolando, the skilful *leech*, who hastened to come; and in the meanwhile, Baciccio himself, taking up the wounded youth, began to carry him into the town, saying, 'If they kill me, it will serve me right.' But the Turks threatened him with his mother, if he did not return: so he embraced the young man with tears, and departed. At the same time the Turks, who remained behind, made a rich booty, carrying off five hundred sheep and twenty-two oxen; and on their going back with Baciccio to the castle in the evening, the Dasdar lavished many praises on the enterprise, and said he should send him on another before long; though, in truth, being secretly informed by his spies of all that had passed, he meant to avenge it; for all Moslems are suspicious and full of deceit.

"The unhappy Piero then went to his quarters, and related to his mother the state of affairs; how he yearned to return to Spalato, for pardon and remission of sins, and how they must endeavour to make their escape immediately. His mother replied, 'My son, I am old, and at death's door; and you know, when we quitted our home, that you deceived me, under pretence of going on a pilgrimage (to offer up our prayers together to our Lady

of the Mountain), which turned out, instead, to be a flight to the Turkish territory, and the enemies of our holy religion. Your father would have died sooner than be guilty of such a sin; and no indignity could have driven him to abandon his own people! Who would have supposed his son capable of the like?' Then, seeing that these reproaches were more than he could bear, she added, not to drive him to despair, 'My child! atonement is still possible: let us fly.' Baciccio threw himself at his mother's feet, and imploring her to forgive him, promised he would, at all hazards, retrace his steps. So they laid their plans together, and embraced each other.

"At the dead of night, when all was silent in the castle, and in our lines also, and the wind blew, and the rain poured, and a thick mist covered the ground, Baciccio called one of his men, and told him to saddle the horses. As soon as the man had got them ready, he led his mother out of a little postern of the castle, pretending to have the Dasdar's orders; and when they were beyond the walls, he entreated her to push on with all speed towards Spalato, where, with God's help, he would rejoin her shortly. She, at first, refused to quit him; however, at length, yielding to his intreaties, she departed, but ere she had gone half a mile, Piero heard the sound of fire-arms, and then his mother's voice, calling loudly on him for help.

"He followed like lightning, and came up with her, surrounded by six Turks, and lamenting bitterly. One of them was trying to comfort her; who, when he saw Baciccio said, 'Piero, the Sangiak ordered me to lie in wait, and seize you, the moment you should attempt to quit Clissa: but I do not forget that, about a year ago, I owed much to your house and family. The people of Spalato ill-treated and killed Osmar Bek, then in com-

mand of Salona, and I was with him, and should have been murdered also, if your kindred had not taken compassion upon me, and hidden me in your house. Now, therefore, go; and may the prophet watch over you, and your mother; be quick, while it is still dark.' 'Janus, my brother!" exclaimed Baciccio; and throwing his arms round him, he embraced him heartily; and so they separated.

"Baciccio went on to Spalato, and the Rettore having granted him pardon, all the people crowded to his house, and flocked round Piero and his mother, to hear them tell their story. In the midst of all this, the rumour spread of an attack on our outposts, when Baciccio, escaping from the crowd, seized an arquebus, and sallied forth to the scene of action.

"The Dasdar had dispatched fifty horse, to unite with Janus's troop, and attack Spalato; and the peasants going out into the fields, after last night's storm, saw the cavalry coming, and returned to the city with the tidings. The outposts, notwithstanding their scanty numbers, waited to receive them: and the captains, on the alarm, had hastened to the rescue; so that the skirmish was at its height when Baciccio arrived; and the first thing he saw was Janus Bek, on horseback, fighting with the three brothers Vornich, on foot. Two of them were exhausted, and had given over to recover breath, but the youngest stood his ground till Janus gave him a cut over the forehead with his *hangiar*, that felled him to the ground.

"Meanwhile, two other Turks rushed forward to assist Janus; but, perceiving Baciccio, fell upon him instead; who, although out of breath, defended himself with spirit, and, when his arquebus missed fire, drew forth a pistol, and desperately wounded one of his adversaries. He then

had recourse to his dagger, and plunged it into the ear of the other's horse; but while he was pulling it out again, for another blow, the Turk clapped his pistol to his breast. Janus seeing this, smote aside the man's hand with his *hangiar*, and saved his life; and immediately afterwards ordered his troop to retreat. But the soldiers clamoured to be allowed time to collect their booty; so Janus permitted them to retire slowly, and take what they could by the way.

"Every one praised the conduct of Janus; and when Baciccio returned, he went to the Rettore and the Council, and narrated the whole. Upon which, all agreed to send Janus a present of rich Levantine trappings for two horses, and they were bought of Matteo Godibene, who settled at Spalato two years ago.

"When Baciccio came out into the square, he found a great crowd, shouting, 'Long live the Bacicci,' and begging him to relate the whole story. But he insisted on going first to see Alberti, and wanted to know how he fared; the Hermit said 'Well;' but one of the crowd exclaimed, 'This very morning, before one o'clock, he departed this life:' whereupon the populace abused the Hermit; but he rejoined, 'Which of you, at this moment, is better off than he? Oh, faithless and perverse generation!' and with this he went his way, and the rest dispersed to their homes. The same day the illustrious Signor Giovanni Batista Contarini arrived from the fleet, with his galley, which had lost a mast, bringing news from Constantinople, and of the great victory."

November 2.

"The Marquis Rongonis discovered at Zara a treasonable plot, laid by some evil-minded men, worthy of all horror and detestation, human and divine.

"Simone Comici, of Istria, Giovanni of Este, and the

brothers Sime and Vido Salvalich of Zara, had splendid offers made to them from the Turkish commander, if they could find means to surrender the city; and accordingly, for many days, they had debated the matter, in the house of the priest, Rotta (excommunicated and accursed, as every body here knows); and at last, agreed among themselves to bribe the guard of the powder magazine, with the view to cause an explosion, and, during the alarm and confusion of the city, to open the gates, and admit the Turks. But Almighty God, in his mercy, confounded their wicked intentions, and ordained that the priest's old housekeeper should overhear the scheme, and disclose all to the Reverend Antonio of Ravenna, who hastened immediately with the intelligence to the Council.

"As soon as they missed the old woman, they suspected what had happened; and disguising themselves as Greek sailors, passed the gate, and fled to the Turkish captain. But he openly denied having any thing to do with the plot, though letters from him were discovered, and the messenger being taken, confessed the whole upon the rack; moreover, the Turk refused to give the traitors up to your Serenities; and others (as indeed there was good reason to believe) were suspected of being concerned in this affair.

"The most excellent Provveditore, thereupon, commanded that nobody, without special permission, should visit late in the evening at a neighbour's house, so long as the danger lasted; at the same time it was enacted that, after the vesper bell, no citizen, unless with wife or children, should go abroad armed, or in parties of more than three together; and fathers of families were to apply to the Provveditore for permission to receive guests, strangers, or others, into their houses; and whoever disregarded these orders subjected himself to a penalty of five ducats, for the first offence; and for the second, of fifty ducats, with two years'

imprisonment in the galleys; and in order that all might be duly informed thereof, they were written, and posted on the columns of the Piazza.

"A reward likewise of eighty ducats was fixed on the head of each of the fugitives, if taken alive, or forty, if dead; and whosoever was detected, holding communication with a Turk, was sentenced to be hung by the neck, at the mast of his Excellency's galley, before all the world. Moreover, any person aware of the same, who neglected to give instant information, was condemned to severe punishment.

"These events threw the whole city into consternation; and the nobles and elders of the guilds went to the palace, and told his Excellency, the noble Signor Provveditore, 'that your Serenities' faithful city of Zara begged to offer, with hearty good will, a city guard, to keep watch and ward against all the enemies of the state, and of the most Serene Doge:' whereupon the Provveditore thanked them, and they retired."

Other documents, written about the same period, containing reports from Dalmatia to the Venetian government, give a similar insight into the customs of the day, the intercourse that subsisted between the Christians and their Moslem neighbours, and the character of the Turks. We see that there was not wanting a certain degree of chivalrous feeling, in the midst of their rude conflicts; that the same overbearing disposition manifested itself in the Turks, which has always marked their character; and that the Venetians were fully aware of the mode of checking it. The narratives, too,

of private adventure serve to illustrate their conduct towards each other; one of which, the love-tale of Adelino and Maria Vornich, has not been without a parallel in later times. They also explain the policy of the Venetians, and the several workings of their system; and, being written solely for the eye of government, tell many secrets, which were not intended for general inspection, and are therefore more curious and instructive.*

Peace had been concluded the year before, in 1573, between the Venetians and the Turks, each party retaining the possessions it had before the war; and the Republic engaging to pay 200,000 ducats to the Porte: notwithstanding which, various disputes respecting the rights of territory, and the pretensions set up by the Turks, constantly threatened to embroil the two countries; appeals made by the Venetians to the terms of the treaty were treated with contempt; and the death of Sultan Selim alone prevented a renewal of hostilities.

"*Sebenico, March* 9. 1574.

"I have received the letters from your Serenities, commanding me to collect and forward to your illustrious Highnesses† the most minute and particular information, concerning this province; especially touching lands held under St. Mark, before the last war, and now in possession

* As that of "Spálato, April 22. 1574," and the one following it. See below, pp. 345. 347.

† The Doge's private Council.

of the Turks; and likewise touching such of our towns, wherein they have erected their Mosks; and I hasten to obey your Highnesses' injunction. But the death of most old men in the country, acquainted with the ancient boundaries, renders any precise information difficult to procure at this present. Nevertheless, your Serenities shall be made acquainted with all that passes, worthy of your consideration." * * * * * *

"*Spalato.*

* * * "There is much dispute between the Turks of Clissa and the Spalatines, touching certain lands belonging to them, north of the city; for the enemy's country is so mingled up with ours, that one year, when we sowed the land, they carried off our crop to Clissa, and the next, when they tilled the same for the Sangiak, the crop was all destroyed by order of your Serenities; so the upshot is, that the said territory remains, at this present, totally uncultivated and waste."

"*Cattaro, March* 26. 1574.

"In execution of your Serenities' command, I summoned before the Rettore, and Provveditore, of Cattaro the deputies sent by the *Sbor* (synod) of the district of Pastrovichi, to give information to your most clement Highnesses, in the matter of the boundaries. They were four ancient and venerable men, arrayed in the many-coloured costume of their country; their garments embroidered with silver and gold, and their arms richly ornamented with the same. They replied frankly, and honestly, to our questions: 'Illustrious Signors, it is true we have been hitherto undisturbed, in cultivating the lands, that remained to us at the close of the last war; but the towns of Desosina and Antivari, and two villages under their jurisdiction, passed into the hands of the Turks, when we poor Pastrovichii

were forced to take refuge at Cattaro, and we are still unable to recover our possessions. We must, moreover, warn your Highnesses, that amongst fifty of our people, taken prisoners about a year ago, was the Judge Niccolini, who fell to the share of Hassan Pasha, Sangiak of Scutari, and, as we hear, was by him sent to Constantinople; where, we doubt not, he has made some promise, injurious to our interests, to obtain his liberty. We pray your Lordships to represent this matter to your noble Ambassador; seeing that no promise can be binding from a prisoner and a slave; nor has he any right to make a compact without our own consent, and the permission of our rulers.'"

"I proceeded to ask them what grounds the Sangiaks of Alessio and Scutari had, for claiming the yearly tribute of 300 *aspers* from them, of which they complained;—they replied, 'Two years before the war, when Hassan Pasha was Sangiak of Scutari, he came to settle the boundaries of the Turkish territory, and sent a message to summon us to his presence, saying, that we had been ceded by the noble Cavalli, then ambassador at Constantinople, to the Grand Signor; and that if we submitted quietly, we should have easy terms, and be well treated; but that if ever we failed to pay the tribute, we should rue the day. Nevertheless, we neither replied, nor gave any heed to his summons; but conveyed his letters to Signor Salamon, at Cattaro, who sent them and certain of our elders to Venice, to the sovereign Prince, by whom we were well received, and honourably treated as his most faithful servants; and dismissed with gifts, and assurances, that his Serenity would never consent to barter away his devoted subjects. Notwithstanding, Hassan Bek included our country in the province of the Sangiak; but as yet we have heard nothing more of it.'

"To say the truth, we Pastrovichii have latterly been thrown into great confusion, on account of the Abbey of Sta. Maria di Robaz, formerly (as our records show) in the district of Pastrovichi; but for some time past, belonging to the jurisdiction of Antivari, which has now gone over to the Grand Signor, and become Turkish property. Howbeit, of this Abbey they never had more than the building itself, the estates being always in the territory of Pastrovichi; so that we think we ought not to pay its revenues over to our enemies. They certainly have conquered the Church, but the lands they never conquered. If one of your Venetian gentlemen, revered Signors, had been killed in battle with the title deeds of one of your beautiful palaces in his pocket; the Turk, Signors, would have the title and you the palace. It is exactly thus with the lands of the abbey; which, moreover, we have consecrated to the use of the Church of St. Nicholas, which is, thanks be to God, within our territory.' * * * *

"The old men continued to speak with such fire and determination, that they moved our hearts to compassion. They added: 'From the remotest time our ancestors have lived in liberty, and so will we; before we lose our freedom, we will all die, with our wives and children. What would our sons say to us, if we alienated the ancient inheritance of their fathers, and made them slaves of the enemy? But we would sooner give our last penny, our clothes, and our children, than the goods of our God and our miraculous Saint. We are ready to defend them. We pray you to express to the most serene Prince of Venice our resolute determination; and we humbly beg your Lordships to aid and assist us, your faithful subjects, in this matter.'

"At the same time, there came to Cattaro, two mes-

sengers from the Sangiak, desiring us to reduce the Pastrovichii to reason, with haughty speech and bearing; saying, how the Turk was much stronger than the Christian, which lesson they, the Turks, had taught us Christians from the moment they first set foot in Europe, by their all-powerful sultans, for a long series of years, specially Selim, who had beaten us, and could destroy us at any moment, and who only spared the Venetians by reason of his natural clemency and mercy; and, in conclusion, they desired us to persuade the Pastrovichii to submit with a good grace.

"We calmly replied: 'The Pastrovichii put themselves under the dominion of the Republic, of their own good will, under a binding and valid agreement, that they should be considered as friends and children; the Republic receiving them with open arms, in common with all the inhabitants of those countries, who, by nature and old usage, appertain to the glorious St. Mark. We therefore tell you, envoys of the Sangiak, it is useless to speak of this,—retire.'

"So they departed; and when the men of Pastrovichi heard it, they came to thank us, with protestations of eternal friendship and devotion. * * * *

"For many days we heard nothing further of the matter; when, lo and behold, yesterday, two men on horseback, from Pastrovichi, came riding full speed into the city, demanding an interview, which we granted immediately. One of them spoke as follows: 'Most noble Signors, the poor people of Pastrovichi have sent us in great haste to tell you what has happened. Eighty of the enemy's cavalry have invaded the vallies which skirt our district, and have begun to levy tax, as from their captive subjects, with threats of burning houses, corn, and every thing else, if it be not paid; and, most noble Signors, they

were advancing further up the country, when our people raised the alarm, and rang the bells from one village to the other. All is fighting and confusion. We belong to the serene Republic, and we trusted that the peace would surely include us poor Pastrovichii also; but it seems not; and none can tell where the storm will end. Accordingly we beseech you, the representatives here of our illustrious prince, to send us immediate help, to expel the enemy. If you neglect us, noble Signors, our country will be ruined, and you of Cattaro, with us no longer on your frontier, will have the enemy for a neighbour. We have no more to say: — we implore you to consider well.'

"We forthwith despatched sixty armed men with all speed to Pastrovichi, strictly commanding them not to enter into any quarrel or skirmish, but simply to protect the country. We likewise sent a deputation, consisting of our interpreter, the secretary, and two men of Cattaro, to represent solemnly, in the name of the peace concluded between our Republic and the Porte, that the serene Republic would, through her ambassador, report to the Grand Signor, how his Sangiaks, in defiance of every treaty, make him appear to the world a disloyal liar; and Triffon Romanovich, a citizen of Cattaro, as large in soul as he is in body, and well versed in their tongue, spoke for all, with great spirit and eloquence.

"So the Turkish Captain was much impressed by his words, and replied that he must send to refer the affair to his Sangiak, without whose orders he had no power to act; . . . . . and when the messengers returned, they reported that the Sangiak, out of respect for the peace made by his master, the Grand Signor, and also because this was not the fortunate moment to punish the rebellious Pastrovichii for their obstinate resistance, had resolved to permit his men to quit those vallies, and retire;

which he commanded should be done immediately. Nevertheless, the chief also added, that the Sangiak would not hear of their departing, without the preceding day's booty; whereupon we, thinking it best to bring things to a conclusion, replied, they must go at any rate, always reserving to the Republic the right to redemand the goods unjustly stolen, through the medium of our most excellent ambassador at the Porte.

"The Turkish horsemen, therefore, withdrew; and then we judged fit to put the defences into somewhat better repair, and to post certain soldiers to guard the borders. For it is absolutely necessary to fortify ourselves on this side, that the enemy may not be able to make inroads at his pleasure; as he can do now, with the greatest ease."

* * * * * *

"*Spalato.*

"The death of Messer Rolando, from the journal of the Rettore, in the winter of 1573.*

* * * * "The horrors of intense cold are at this present added to hunger and sickness. The people, wasted with misery, give themselves up to all sorts of superstitious practices; the story circulates, from mouth to mouth, how that women have been seen at night, flying over the fields, with flaming eyes that scorch the air, like a furnace, and turn the earth to sand and flint. The poor peasants cover themselves with crosses, and sprinkle the accursed land with holy water, all in vain; for the misery continues to increase, and the belief in witches gains ground.

"Last Sunday, at the hour of complines, when the peasants were assembled, as usual, after the feast of the consecration of St. Thomas, talking over the witches, that

* In the Report this is also introduced with the one that follows.

old rascal the Hermit appeared among them, saying, 'Brothers, be joyful, and of good heart, and praise God, who is willing to bring all your troubles to an end.' (Now every one knows that, a few months before, he had adopted a beautiful orphan girl, left without friends or relations, and the people were never tired of praising his benevolent deed; nevertheless, one day, the terrified maiden came to us, seeking our protection from her new father; who, despite a rumour of this circumstance getting abroad, went on more rigidly than ever, preaching to the people, and cursing all scandalmongers, till the whisper well nigh died away.) So he stood there, with wrinkled brow, and glaring eyes; and with a loud voice accused his servant maid (the girl aforesaid) of having just made to him a full and ample confession of certain secret and unholy rites, and impious contracts between sundry witches and the Evil One.

"For a while his hearers listened breathless and stupified. Then one began to whisper his neighbour, then another; till a hundred voices exclaimed in wild confusion: 'Ah! it was no fable, as they wanted to make out;'—'It can no longer be doubted;'—'Have I not seen them?' 'And I!'—'But I said so, one of the first:' 'Now who will be right?'

"The news spread; every one rushed out of his house, and in a few minutes there was an immense crowd. Their first counsels were reasonable enough: 'Let us go to the Archbishop:' 'No, no, let us see the girl:' 'Straight, brothers, to the Rettore:' 'To the Council;' when, in the midst of the confusion, a deep voice called out, 'To the fire.' In the ears of the populace, already excited to fury, this voice seemed a judgment; a sentence without appeal. With one accord the multitude separated on two

sides; one part ran for the victim, the other to the Piazza of the Duomo, to prepare the faggots.

"At the news of the horrors about to happen, we hastened to the scene with the Captain and his people, and the Archbishop and the priests. Among the first to reach the spot was Doctor Rolando; and revered by the people, they instantly opened a way for him to the funeral pile, towards which two ferocious villains were dragging the wretched girl, all pale and dishevelled.

"His righteous indignation gave him an air of majestic command, as he ordered the instant liberation of the maiden; who, raising her eyes to her liberator, gasped out, "Save me, I am innocent:" and at his resolute tone, the four hands, which clutched her like pincers, at the edge of the flames, let go their hold; and she, feeling herself free, gathered up all her energies, and fled.

"Those nearest, when they saw her close to them, suddenly moved to pity, let her pass, and protected her escape; those behind did the same; and the cry arose, "This way, child, this way, fly!" The poor girl was saved.

"On a sudden, screams of agony were heard. In the urgency of his zeal, Rolando had approached too near the flame, and his long robe caught fire unawares; the sudden pain made him start off, like a wounded bull; and the blaze, which might have been easily smothered, by rolling on the earth, became, in the terrible race, a devouring flame; he reached the sea in inexpressible torments, rushed into the waves, and expired."

"*Spalato, April* 5. 1574.

"Most serene Prince, and illustrious Lords, according to your commands, I submit to your judgment various matters, most worthy of your Highnesses' attention. * * * * The Turks of Clissa go on, as usual, annoying the inha-

bitants of these parts in such a manner, that they cannot possibly exist, if things continue on the present footing.

"Their lands, being almost all appropriated by the enemy, do not produce sufficient for their subsistence; witness the past year, when your Highnesses had to send so much food and clothing to Spalato, for the many destitute there. It appears to me, illustrious Signors, that some remedy might be found for this misery and disorder . . . . The soldiers who guard the confines eat up the profit of the land; * * * * I always perceive that the little homesteads of small landholders are the most productive, the estates of the nobles yield not half as much, and those of the communes are a desert, according to the greater or less interest the cultivators have in them. — Why should not these be distributed to individuals? and then they would no longer be abandoned, to become a pitiful sight; and the land would render ten times what it does at present; for these vallies are fertile, and grateful for labour. However we may have head and heart, we lack arms long enough to help the people of this country, who never think for the morrow; but misfortune comes upon them unawares.

"At this moment there is a great dearth, and we do the best we can to keep them from starving: we distribute bread and broth, vegetables and rice to the poor, who come to beg; and the reverend Archbishop and the clergy go round with the same, to those who are ill, or ashamed to appear in public. But this cannot last; for although charity is enjoined by Almighty God, as your clement Highnesses well know; — if the wound is not probed to the quick, the remedy will be worse than the disease, seeing that the gangrene will spread.

"Credit me, who have known and seen by experience,

on many occasions, the indolent character of these natives, and how averse they are to labour. For they have grown accustomed, in the many years of perpetual warfare, to behold their harvests destroyed, or carried away by the enemy, their woods burnt, and their cattle harried. Moreover, large numbers have come over from the territory ceded away by the serene Republic, and live by begging alms; many good families, and noble houses likewise, through the same cause, find themselves deprived of their estates, and reduced to poverty. * * * * These are some few of the manifold reasons of the exceeding misery, and frequent deaths. May God preserve us, after the famine that has already begun, from the plague which too surely follows, and which would be the last exterminator of this serene Republic, in Dalmatia and Albania.

"We have despatched to Träù our medical professor, Messer Carlotto, erewhile the friend and companion of our beloved Messer Rolando Landi (drowned in that affair of the witch, already known to your Highnesses, to our lasting grief, and the regret of the whole country, since even the Turks wished him well);—and this same Messer Carlotto reports, that it cannot be denied, how a low fever goes creeping about; the which, nevertheless, he thinks sufficiently accounted for by scanty nourishment, ill adapted to sustain human life, according to the knowledge and argument of his art. We submit to your Lordships' judgment his dissertation thereon; in which, with infinite science and ingenuity, he clearly expounds the celestial influences and dispositions. * * * *

"There is also another calamity, of which it is our duty to inform your Highnesses, caused by the continued misery and wretchedness of this unfortunate nation; who, not recognising the perchance inscrutable justice of Heaven,

in these latter reverses of the serene Republic, cry out that they are abandoned! and knowing that the peace is a farce; and that Venice every day keeps ceding more territory, bit by bit, have various seditious ballads always in their mouth; especially one comparing the Turk to a devouring flood, which they sing at night, under our very palace windows; but we turn a deaf ear thereto, knowing how these wretched men are maddened by want." * * *

"*Spalato, April* 8. 1574.

"Most serene Prince, and illustrious Nobles, it is my duty, with grief of spirit, to make known to you, that affairs in these parts are more embroiled than ever. * * *

"You must know that a certain Matteo Feretic has a good estate, situated on the borders, towards Salona; where he lives quietly with his wife and family, being a peaceful good subject, as I can testify. Now it chances that one of his fields skirts an estate belonging to two Turks, brothers, called Ahmet and Abedul, violent and overbearing men, who had even threatened to kill the Dasdar's own son, if these lands were not assigned to them for their share, when the Turks divided our territory amongst them.

"The Feretics and these brothers happened to be in their fields yesterday, at the same time; and the Turks amused themselves by abusing and insulting the Feretic family; to which they turned a deaf ear, tranquilly continuing their husbandry, till Abedul jumped over the hedge, crying, 'So you pretend not to hear, how I and my brother are calling you dogs, and challenging you; if you have a tongue in your heads answer us, ye Feretic

* Such reflections on the state of the Republic at that time are curious.

hounds.' They said, 'We have heard your insolence, Abedul, and have not replied, for the sake of peace; and because we Christians have a precept, which teaches us to pardon injuries and ill-usage; so, if you choose, you can go on all night, till to-morrow morning; and we shall take no notice of it.'

"Enraged, beyond endurance, at these words, Abedul pointed his arquebus, and wounded one of the sons, Duje Feretic, in the shoulder, so that he fell to the ground. His father, and brothers, and the women, ran out of the house, and raising the young man, rushed instantly for their arms; and the father fired, and wounded Abedul in the side; whereupon he hastened, all covered with blood, to the Turkish village close by, crying out that he and his brother had been assaulted; and that they must be quick, if they wished to save Ahmet's life.

"In the meantime, the Feretics had gathered their neighbours together, more than a hundred strong, and the Turks also mustered from all sides, armed with swords and arquebuses, shouting that the moment was come to root out, and utterly destroy, the Christians, people, and nobles, from the land. When it fell out, by great good luck, that Captain Francesco and his troop appeared on the spot, and addressed the Turks as follows: 'What! just as we have made peace, and become good neighbours, are you seeking a quarrel on account of two turbulent men, in bad repute, as you well know, among yourselves; remember, honest Turks, that the glorious Sultan and the noble Venetian Signory are now at peace, and regard each other in the light of the best allies. If we and you, who are subjects of the said renowned powers, break the public peace, for our own private quarrels, we shall incur the displeasure, you of the Porte, and we of the Republic; so let us all

return peaceably to our homes, and continue, as before, good friends and neighbours.'

"The effect produced by those prudent words of the captain's is not to be described. The Turks all shouted, 'Long live the Signory, and Captain Francesco, and all who speak so well and discreetly;' they declared they would never draw a sword in behalf of such rascals as Abedul and Ahmet; and promised, if ever the brothers disturbed the peace of the neighbourhood again, to see to it themselves. And so they dispersed.

"This circumstance would not be worthy of relating to your Highnesses, having by the grace of God and our holy Protector all ended happily, were it not a proof of the perpetual quarrels and alarms, which keep the country in a state of disquiet.

"Only the other day a young girl was seized towards Vergnizza by a party of Turks, having outwalked her companions coming to the city to sell wood; but her father and brothers going the same road, and happening to meet the ravishers suddenly, they gave her up, excusing themselves with the pretence that she was so like a woman of Clissa, who had fled from her husband, that they had mistaken one for the other.

"The father and brothers only said, 'Take care, strangers, not to make that mistake again, or you will not get off so easily;' but when we questioned the girl, she blushed excessively, and said that she had seen one of the Turks before, that he had stopped at her cottage door, and asked her to bring him some water. So we immediately perceived the real state of the case, which the experience and sagacity of your Highnesses will easily divine. We did not pretend to observe any thing, nor make any remark to the father and brother; for rather than a daughter should

love a Turk, they would kill her, or force her into a convent, as happened to another girl about eight months since.

"I will briefly relate the facts, since they are curious and interesting. * * * Your Excellencies must know that last year a very handsome young Turk, splendidly dressed, made his appearance here at the bazaar, in the capacity of a merchant. He dealt in wax and honey, distilled waters and essences, and he rode on a beautiful chesnut horse, followed by two attendants. The Turks called him Adel, but we named him 'handsome Adelino,' and our women always bought of him, in preference to any body else, and he was always honest and discreet. He was the envy of his own countrymen; and we Christians entertained for him the greatest esteem and regard. One day Adelino was missing from among the other traders, and again the next day, and the next; when the Turks said, 'An *Afrit* has got hold of his heart,' that is, he is in love; for they call being in love having an *Afrit*.

"You must know, illustrious Signors, that one day, as Adelino was sitting as usual in his place, there came some of the Vornich family to the market, bringing with them their two beautiful sisters, Ivanizza, and Maria, richly attired with gold and ornaments; the family of Vornich being of great antiquity and opulence; and as soon as Adelino and Maria beheld each other, they felt they were born to be united.

"But the young girl thought of her parents and her sister, besides having the fear of God and the Holy Virgin before her eyes, because Adelino was a Turk; so she wept, and kept the secret from all save her sister alone. The young man was constantly hovering about the Vornichs' house, although he could never contrive to speak to her;

and that was why he no longer appeared at the bazaar. However, it chanced another time, the Vornichs went there again, and he was there also; and, when the two sisters were standing close to him, he sang in Slavonic,

"'The Turk loves the dove,' 'I am the Turk, her countenance is fairer than the jessamine, and lovelier than the rose.'

"'The Turk loves the dove, I have heard her speak, compared to her voice honey is bitter. The dove is more precious than my fleetest steed.'

"While he sang, the Turks all laughed, and said he is in love; and when he heard them laughing, he rose up hastily, and left the place; and as Maria burst into tears, her father asked her what was the matter; whereupon, she not answering, but continuing to sob and cry, her sister begged her father and brothers not to attract attention, promising if they would go quietly home, that she and Maria would tell them all.

"Accordingly they returned; and when they heard how it was, they swore that she should go into a convent, and never more hope to leave it, lest she should dishonour her family; which, from generation to generation, had been held in respect and esteem; and that this unwonted enormity should be buried in oblivion, and hidden from the eyes of the world.

"The very reverend Messer Damiano, the priest of the family, did all he could, by remonstrances and exhortations, to soften the hearts of her father and brothers; and at last it was settled that the maiden should remain two years in a convent, till this stain might be blotted from memory. Whereupon she went, accompanied by her sister; for they refused to be separated; but, ere long, Maria fell ill; and when Adelino heard thereof, he shot an arrow over the

wall into her window, one evening, with a scroll attached to it, saying, 'If your parents will only give you to me, I will become a Christian.' This billet being picked up, nobody knows by whom, and sent to the Vornichs, they were in a great rage, and demanded that Adelino should no longer be allowed to cross the border. Meanwhile, the maiden languished and died; and she was buried in the convent, and the learned Bóctuli placed the following lines upon her grave, in Slavonic: —

'Our turtle dove, with the soft eyes, was wounded;
A hunter from a far country wounded her sorely;
Poor Maria!

'The mother and father chased her from their bosom;
They refused to comfort the stricken one; and the gentle dove is dead:
Poor Maria!'

which all the country people, to this day, go about singing; for it is a pitiful tale, which touches every heart; and her sister Ivanizza still remains in the convent, where it is said she means to take the veil for ever.

"I relate these circumstances, that your Excellencies may perceive on what terms we are with the Turks; and it may be truly affirmed that no nation are all evil alike; seeing how some of them are without conscience, laws, or honour, while others are true and loyal cavaliers; who, if they pledge their faith, keep it as honestly as though they were of our own holy religion; an instance whereof your Excellency may have heard by the mouth of the honourable Supercargo Malipiero of the Chersonese galley, touching that good and upright Turk Belusso.

"It so happened that Alet, the son of the Dasdar, ran off to Clissa with Maddelena Tonielli, daughter of Gaspar Tonielli, an Italian from Rimini, who has been settled

three years in this city, and grief brought the poor father well nigh to death's door; which, coming to the ears of Belusso, who had often had dealings with him in the way of business, he went to the Dasdar and told him how his son had carried away the girl, which is a crime prohibited by the Koran, and their prophet Mahomet.

"Whereupon the old father, being a strict follower of their law, summoned his son, and insisted on his restoring the damsel forthwith; and accordingly, she was given up to the charge of Belusso, who took her back to her father, with all tenderness and respect.

"Gaspar, weeping, flung his arms round Belusso, and swore that he looked on him as his brother, and should never cease to bear witness and proclaim to the very ends of the world, where he might wander, (even to those far lands first beholden by the Spaniards,) the generous compassion shown by a Turkish noble heart to an enemy in affliction and disgrace. And he would have continued to bewail the dishonour of his family, had not Belusso stopped him, and earnestly dissuaded him from leaving the city, as he wanted to do; promising that in six days he would bring back from Alet a declaration, written and subscribed in due form, that Maddelena had in no wise wronged her family, and might walk with an unsullied brow in the light of the sun; which he could show to every body. He was as good as his word; and in the space of five days returned with the certificate, solemnly attested and signed, according to his promise."

"*Sebenico.*

"I wrote yesterday to your illustrious Highnesses, concerning the insolent behaviour of the Turks, in the matter of the mills of Sebenico; and this day I add tidings of a fresh, and not less notable, outrage, committed by ten

Turkish horsemen, who made a sudden incursion, and carried off two of our subjects, from a place not far from here, called Blatto. This is, by no means, the first occurrence of the kind; for they are in the frequent habit of taking away grown up people and children; not to mention that galley from Zara, about which your Highnesses are already informed.

"I would humbly venture to suggest, that all these disorders arise from an excessive forbearance, incompatible alike with our dignity, and with the character of those rascally barbarians, our enemies; who set down the laudable endeavours of the Republic to avoid a quarrel as so many signs of fear and weakness.

"Believe me, Serene Prince, it would be wiser to scald them well, once for all; that they may ever after have a wholesome fear of cold water *; and take the word of one, who has had many years' experience, while our affairs here have been growing worse and worse, that the Turk respects whoever bears a bold front. Whenever any of our Dalmatians, before turning his back to fly like his neighbours, wheels round upon his adversary, and gives him a sound drubbing, using his fists and his heels lustily, they always stand round, and allow him a fair fight. Moreover, they always remember the names of such individuals, and relate their prowess among themselves, and those men can always go with impunity among the Turks, even unarmed, because the respect which they have inspired renders them inviolate.†

"And, if I may be permitted so to advise, the principal defence of their own country ought to be committed to

* The saying, "a child scalded with hot water is afraid of cold," answers to "a burnt child dreads the fire."

† This remark applies equally well to the Turks at the present day.

those brave people, who verily have no care for their lives against the Turks, but set on them like mad bulls; and truth compels me to say, (albeit with grief,) that we have been vanquished in more than one important skirmish, through the cowardice of the Italian infantry; as, for instance, at Spalato, where we lost Sasso, and the tower of Salona, and the castle of the Archbishop.* The enraged Spalatines, who cried like children, would have torn the Italians to pieces, had it not been for the Rettore, and their respect for your Serenity; and said in their language, 'Why was not the defence entrusted to us? We should not have fled, we would have died first with our wives and children, and have given an example to the world; these castles were built by our grandfathers, and many a time have we defended them, and whenever the Turks attempted to touch them, they were driven away to their disgrace; yet now the Mighty Prince prefers placing his confidence in strangers rather than in us, a thing not to be borne.'" * * * * *

"*Spalato, April* 22. 1574.

"The commander at Träù sent yesterday for a reinforcement of twenty men, in consequence of the disturbed state of the people in his city: and I must warn your illustrious Hignesses that the rebellious spirit increases; for misery has at last rendered this people as savage as wild beasts. * * * * We have written to the Rettore and the Commander, giving them suitable counsel, meet for honest and faithful servants of the mighty Prince and serene Republic. We have also deemed fit to explain to them the conduct we pursued in similar cases, when we were forced to cut away certain poisoned members, to preserve the sound part from infection; and your Highnesses know the

* See above, pp. 212. 292.; and Vol. I. pp. 118. 163.

rest; for this has ever been the infallible rule of the Serene Council of ten; who, through all storms and perils, have always brought the precious vessel of this illustrious state, and happy dominion, safe into port.

"Amongst other cautions, which we thought it our duty to suggest, are the following; approved under the like circumstances by the Serene Council of ten. 1st, The Rettore ought to make all goods despatched directly, or indirectly, by Venice, to appear to come immediately from thence; in order that the people may understand that they are supplied in no other way, but through the pure and voluntary benevolence of the most Serene Signory; and he should cause them to appear of the greatest consequence possible, disembarking them with much ceremony in open daylight, in the sight of the people, that their hearts may be gladdened. 2dly, To keep diligent watch that no seditious language be uttered, and to take especial heed to obtain information of what is said in Slavonic. For one word may kindle the fire, and though it seem only blazing straw, it may nathless burn down the house. 3dly, To be affable and caressing to the Nobles, more particularly the grumblers; who are, I can assure you, Serene Prince, by aid of patience, the easiest to manage. But some of the younger gentlemen are more subtle, and difficult to deal with, and have strange new-fangled notions. There are two here, Vincenzo Rosolic, and his brother Antonio, who have been seven years in foreign parts, at Padua, and Oxford, and Brussels, and Rotterdam, and are always talking (as we know by sure information) of the customs and laws of the people they have been amongst, to the disadvantage of our own.

"Whence, illustrious Signors, it would be well, if I may be permitted to offer a suggestion, that they should be sent for to Venice, and appointed to some post, or employment,

which would keep them away from the fire. As for the mechanics, and men in trade, they are of little account; however, in case any should chance to obtain influence, and give trouble, we have reminded the Rettore of certain recent occurrences, now happily buried in oblivion. * * *

"The galley of the most excellent Provveditore of Zara has arrived, bringing arms and ammunition; and, to the administration, biscuits, salt, and coarse cloth: we subjoin the account of the goods."

"*Spalato.*

"The distribution of the food and clothing, which your Highnesses' supreme clemency has despatched to the succour of this population, took place yesterday.

"We unpacked the bale of agricultural implements, sending some to Träù, and keeping the rest for the villages in this neighbourhood, according to your command. Moreover, we deemed it expedient that the country people should come into the city, to receive the same, to the intent that every body should, with their own eyes, behold your beneficence.

"First of all, we, and our officials and public men, with the principal merchants and nobles of the city, and the greater part of the population, attended solemn mass in the cathedral; after which we proceeded to the Great Square, where two large vases had been placed, one of which held the names of divers necessitous individuals, and the other, corresponding specifications of gifts accorded, either six measures of cloth, or a plough, or some instrument of husbandry, or five measures of salt, or a weight of biscuit, and such like.

"The whole place was crowded with people, and the windows and balconies ornamented with damask hangings, and flowers, as if for a festa; when at the concerted signal of three rounds of cannon, fired from the galley, the

glorious banner of St. Mark was unfurled; and causing silence to be proclaimed, we addressed the people as follows: — 'Nobles, merchants, and people of Spalato, — from the hour you first placed yourselves under the shadow of the renowned Signory of Venice, you have received clear and indubitable proofs of the clemency, and justice, of the most happy Venetian dominion; neither have you, nor your ancestors, ever had cause to repent of being the subjects of our glorious protector St. Mark; and now, the serene Republic, feeling for your present sufferings, hastens benignly to your aid. This day, nobles, and gentlemen, we set before you the succours despatched by the noble Signory; that all may perceive how Venice cherishes her true and beloved children.'

"Whereupon the cannon fired again, and all shouted, 'Long live our Prince! Long live St. Mark! Long live Venice!' and the ladies clapped their hands, and waved their scarfs, and threw flowers down from the balconies into the piazza; * * * and our agents, discreetly distributed by us among the crowd, have reported to us many sayings, which have rejoiced us much. * * *

"In this manner we have endeavoured to give importance to your Serenities' gifts and largess; which, if I must fain speak the plain truth, is but a scanty subsidy after all, compared to what is needed. But the great point is, to keep the people in a good temper, which covers a multitude of evils."

"*Träù, April* 28. 1574.

* * * "His Excellency of Spalato has forwarded to us various articles, sent from Venice, as benevolent gifts from your clemency to this community; of which we humbly forward an account, as in duty bound. * * * We have distributed the goods to the poorest; making them draw lots, that none might have cause of complaint. * * *

We have likewise consigned an equal share to the priests of the different villages, and hamlets; and they report to us the unbounded joy and gratitude of these poor people, who, beating their breasts, loudly proclaim and celebrate the tender heart of your Serenities.

"From one of them we have heard a circumstance, worthy of coming to the notice of your illustrious Highnesses. The said pastor, before dividing the lots, celebrated high mass in the parish church, and made an oration to his parishioners, taking occasion to point out whence came the succour, and what ought to be their feelings towards the Signory.

"After the distribution, just as the people were departing, a heavy rain came on; which kept them in the parroco's house all day; and in the evening, when they were separating to go home, one of the prize-holders, pointing out a light in the distance, said, 'That is old Jele's candle: her name was not in the lottery to-day.' Others said it was; and so, to decide the question, they went back, and asked the parroco; who replied that he had in truth forgotten her, but would correct his mistake to-morrow; — but the first who had spoken said, 'That will not do, your Reverence: I shall pass by the hamlet, and I will give her half my biscuit, seeing that I and mine are, by the help of God, strong and healthy, and poor Jele is bedridden.'

"They all applauded the words of this ploughman; whose name is not mentioned. Accordingly, when he passed Jele's cottage, he gave her a hail, and the poor old woman was in bed; so he left the biscuit, and she crept to the window to say her prayers, and bless him, till he was out of sight and hearing.

"The same old woman had an orphan grandson, by name Ante, who, two years ago, when he was nineteen, had suddenly disappeared, and had never been heard of

since. So every body believed he had either been killed, or carried off by the Turks; and the old woman had given up all hope of ever seeing him again. But the very morning after what I have just related, there was a great knocking at her door; and who should it be but Ante, returned home! Poor old Jele threw her arms round his neck, and blessed him, in the name of his father and mother, who were gone; and to her astonishment, behold! Ante came back a rich man, with a pocket full of zecchini; for, as the story goes, he had been carried off into Bosnia, and taken into service by a great man, where he made money.

"When Ante heard of the ploughman's kindness to his old grandmother, he went to thank him, and there was great joy and merry-making, to see him among them once more; but Ante called the father aside, and said, 'Here I am, you see, a rich man; and having got some money, I want a wife; so, if it suits you, give me your eldest daughter, and take me into your house, and we will live together, as long as it pleases God.' Whereat the father, transported with delight, called his family together, and told them of the offer; and so, 'he that had compassion on the poor' was 'rewarded,' according to the Word."

After the peace concluded with Selim II., in 1573, until the war of Candia, a space of seventy-two years, with the exception of some casual quarrels, no fresh hostilities occurred between the Venetians and Turks. The loss of Clissa, which had been taken by the Turks in 1537, was looked upon as a great misfortune by the Dalmatians, and Spálato felt no longer secure, when the enemy was

in possession of that important fortress. Their ardent wishes therefore led to an expedition for its recovery; but, whatever may have been their inclination, the Venetians abstained from all interference, and expressly forbade their subjects joining in the attempt; and the whole design originated with the heads of the Church, and the Uscocs, the sworn enemies of the Moslems, and the advocates of any enterprise of plunder, or adventure.

Pope Clement VIII., who dreaded the successes of the Osmanlis, gladly encouraged any project for checking them; and Alberti, Archdeacon of Spálato, his brother Giovanni, and the Canonico Gaudenzio, proposed to seize the fortress; assisted by a Ragusan noble, the captain of a Papal galley, who was previously engaged to enter it, in the disguise of a merchant, and report upon the state of its defences. A body of Uscocs and Poglizzans was therefore collected; and having secretly approached the gates at night, under the command of Alberti, the guard was overpowered, and Clissa was taken, in the name of the Emperor; but a Turkish army of 80,000 men soon appeared before the place; the Imperial troops sent to its relief were routed; and the chiefs of the expedition having been killed, among whom were Lencovich, Alberti, and the Bishop of Segna (uncle of the celebrated De Dominis), the feeble garrison of Uscocs surrendered to the Turks.* A.D. 1596.

* Catalinich, vol. iii. p. 119. and Minucci.

Though Venice was in no degree answerable for the conduct of the Uscocs, on this, or any other, occasion, their repeated attacks were a constant source of complaint from the Turks; who found it more convenient to consider the Republic responsible for all outrages committed on its frontier, or on the Adriatic, than to take upon themselves the unpleasant duty of watching those freebooters. But the protection given them by the Austrians made it difficult for the Venetian government to check their piracies, without embroiling itself with another neighbouring state; and it was not till their direct attacks on Venetian traders, and the cruelties they exercised upon those they captured, had made it impossible to allow them to remain unchecked, that the Republic interfered.

Nor was this step taken, until all endeavour to induce the Austrians to exercise their authority, to prevent an indiscriminate attack on friends and foes, had been used in vain. The result, however, was beneficial to humanity; though it brought on a war, of two years' duration, between the Austrians and Venetians; and the Uscocs were finally removed from the coast to the interior of Croatia.*

A.D. 1645–6.

Towards the middle of the seventeenth century, war again broke out between the Republic and the Porte; and in 1646 a

* See a summary of the History of the Uscocs from Minuccio Minucci, and Fra Paolo, at the end of this History.

large army entered Dalmatia, commanded by the Pasha of Bosnia. Novigrad was taken, and the Pasha laid siege to Sebeníco. He was, however, repulsed; and Foscolo, the Venetian general, succeeded in obtaining possession of Scardóna; at the same time that Paolo Caotorta took the castle of Douáré, and obliged the people of Primorie * to join the Venetians.

Foscolo then recovered Zemonico, Nostinizza, Obbrovazzo, Vrana, Salona, and Sasso; drove Feret Agha from Novigrad; and obliged the Turks to retire from the siege of Sebeníco, with immense loss; and having put himself at the head of 6000 Morlacchi, in the depth of the winter of 1647, he surprised and destroyed the castle of Dernis; and then advanced to attack the strong fortress of Knin, the outpost of Bosnia, and key of Dalmatia. He was successful; the fortress was taken and dismantled; and the Morlacchi were thus enabled to live for a time free from the oppression of the Turks, under the protection of the Republic.

The next object of Foscolo was the capture of Clissa; which was taken after an obstinate resistance. It was at first decided A.D. 1648. by the Senate that this strong place should be destroyed; but its position, which tended so much to the protection of Spálato, decided them on

* The Kraina, or territory of Macarska. The lower Cettina runs through it.

retaining it, and garrisoning it with a suitable force.

The year after his campaign in central Dalmatia, Foscolo entered the canal of Cattaro; and, aided by the warlike population of Perásto and Pástrovich, besieged and took Rísano, a stronghold of the Turks, obliging the other districts to join the standard of the Republic.

At the peace of 1669, it was agreed, that the Venetians should retain possession of Clissa, and all they had acquired on the frontier of Bosnia. During the war, they had destroyed many Turkish castles, and the people had laid waste the lands on every side; so that there was great difficulty in deciding how far the frontier line ought, by right, to extend. The Turks pretended that no district could be considered conquered, unless it had been occupied by the Venetian troops, and that a temporary conquest could not be looked upon in the light of actual possession.

A.D. 1669–70.

Mehmet Pasha of Bosnia, and Antonio Barbaro, were appointed to settle this point. The Morlacchi, however, continued their aggressions; the Pasha advanced with an army to the spot; and numerous reprisals took place, on either side. At length, on the death of the Pasha, another more conciliatory commission was sent from Constantinople, and the limits were fixed to the satisfaction of both parties; nor was any further anxiety felt, until the Grand

Vizir, Kara Mustafa, threatened once more to embroil the affairs of Dalmatia. But the defeat of the Turks by Sobieski, before Vienna, happened opportunely to prevent further difficulties; and the disgrace and death of Kara Mustafa put an end to his projects, of adding Dalmatia and Ragusa to the dominions of the Porte.

A singular fact is connected with the cause of the previous siege of Vienna in 1529; which shows how great an influence the sympathies of the Slavonic races possess, and how strong a feeling they have often entertained against the Germans.

After the expulsion of John Zapolski (Zapolia) from Hungary, he retired for a year to Tarnof in Gallicia; a place, which has lately derived a melancholy interest from the events of 1846.

Yieroslav Laski, Palatine of Sieradz, undertook to restore Zapolski to the throne, on condition of being created Prince of Transylvania; which being promised, Yieroslav set off for Constantinople. A month after his arrival, a Turkish force marched into Hungary, to replace Zapolski on the throne: the Austrians were defeated; Zapolski was restored; and Vienna was besieged, by Sultan Suleyman (in October 1529*); and the success of the

* Another curious fact is connected with the siege of 1529. The inhabitants of Vienna, fearing that the cathedral might suffer from the cannon of the Turks, promised, on condition of their not firing upon it, to take down the cross from the steeple, and substitute the crescent; and this Moslem

negotiation, which had this striking result, was mainly owing to the Grand Vizir being a Slavonian, whose sympathies were readily enlisted against the Germans, and in favour of a Slavonic advocate.

Fresh hostilities broke out in Dalmatia in 1685; which seemed at first to augur badly for the Republic; Pietro Valier being forced, by the Pashas of Bosnia and Herzegóvina, to abandon the siege of Sign, with great loss. But the Turks were not successful, in their attacks on the Riviera de' Castelli of Träù; and Valier took the tower of Norino, and secured the whole country around it. He then built a fort at the point of Opus, on the Narenta, to cover the valley of that river, and the approach to Herzegóvina; from which the modern town of Fort Opus has derived its name.

A.D. 1685.

The following year, Girolamo Cornaro, having succeeded Valier in the command of the army, obliged the Turks to retire from before the tower of Norino, and from Fort Opus; after which, returning to Sign, he besieged and took that place; and to such a degree of exasperation had the cruelties of the Turks raised the feelings of his troops, that the whole garrison was put to the sword. A strong force was then stationed at Sign; which was soon afterwards attacked in

A.D. 1686.

emblem was not removed, until after the siege of 1683; when the Turks, by firing on the cathedral, were thought to have violated the agreement.

vain by the Turks, as were the other fortresses taken from them by the Venetians.

Encouraged by these successes, Cornaro, with 10,000 men, proceeded to attack Castel Nuovo, in (Venetian) Albania, at the entrance of the Bocche di Cattáro. A fleet of 120 vessels, of various sizes, had conveyed his army from Zara; and the Venetians, taking up a favourable position, laid siege to the place. In vain the Pasha of Bosnia advanced with 4000 men to its relief, and attacked the Venetian lines; the captain-general, by a well-timed manœuvre of his reserve, defeated the enemy; and, having carried a tower of the fortress, intimidated the garrison into a surrender. A.D. 1687.

The Turks had taken possession of Knin, and repaired the defences, adding to them a triple wall; but this did not discourage Cornaro: he hastened his march towards the place; defeated a corps of Turks on the way, who opposed his progress; and having turned the course of the river, which flows at the base of its rocky eminence, he so alarmed the garrison with the prospect of perishing from thirst, that they surrendered at discretion.

The Turks were also driven out of Verlicca and Zuonigrad; and Cornaro then penetrated into the Lika district, took Graçatz, and extended the Venetian authority over a distance of more than sixty miles.

During a space of ten years, warlike operations in Dalmatia were carried on with energy, on both

sides, but the result was highly favourable to the Venetians: Vergoraz was taken; the Pasha of Herzegóvina was made prisoner; and the Pasha of Bosnia was defeated on several occasions. Having obtained possession of the fortress of Citluk*, above Gabella, by the aid of the hardy Morlacchi, the Venetian general effectually guaranteed the security of the frontier on that side; and, about the same time, Zaschia, Pópovo, Trebigne, the fortress of Clobuk†, and the whole country to the confines of Ragusa, came into the possession of the Republic.

The city of Ragusa, and the adjacent territory, which formed that small, but independent state, were the only portion of Dalmatia that never fell into the hands of the Venetians; and, with a view to secure their country from the encroachments of that Republic, the Ragusans had, for many years, placed themselves under the protection of the Porte, to whom they paid an annual tribute. And in order to prevent any disputes arising from a contact of their dominion with those of the Venetians, a narrow strip of land was afterwards ceded to the Turks, on either side, extending from Herzegóvina to the sea; which separated the northern and southern extremities of the Ragusan, from the Dalmatian and Albanian, territories.

* This is different from the Citluk (or Chitluk) near Sign, supposed to be the ancient Æquum. It was on a height near the Narenta, and is now one of the ruined castles of Gabella, the frontier town of Herzegóvina.

† Or Clobuch. These are now Turkish towns.

On the 26th of January, 1698, the peace of Carlovitz was signed between the Turks and Venetians. According to a clause in the treaty, respecting Dalmatia, it was decided that the Venetians should retain the fortresses of Knin, Sign, and Citluk, with the territory dependent upon them; and the frontier on that side was determined, by a line drawn from the northernmost of those towns to Verlicca, and thence to Douáré and Vergoraz; at which last place, a ruined castle on its rocky height, and a mosk in the town below, still remain to attest the former occupation of the Turks. A.D. 1698.

The determination of the Porte to attempt the recovery of the Morea, once more brought on a war with the Venetians; and the incautiousness of the Republic, in allowing itself to be deceived by the Turks, respecting the object of their warlike preparations, tended greatly to the loss of the Venetian possessions in Greece. A.D. 1714.

Hostilities were not long in commencing in Dalmatia. The Turks first attempted to surprise the fortress of Sign, and to take possession of the bridge over the Cettina, but were repulsed with loss; when a guerilla warfare was commenced by the Morlacchi upon the Ottoman territory. Villages were plundered; the lands laid waste; and the injuries inflicted, on the plains of Bosnia and Herzegóvina, by the forays of those mountaineers, repaid, in some degree, the acts of devastation be-

fore committed by the Turks throughout Dalmatia; and the armed militia of Zara and the frontier, at the same time, pushed their advanced posts as far as the mountains of Prolog, and ravaged the country. The Christians of Bosnia, availing themselves of the successes of their Slavonic brethren and co-religionists, went over in great numbers to Dalmatia; and so general had this emigration become, that the Turkish authorities detained their wives and children, as hostages, to prevent it.

A. D. 1715. At length, putting himself at the head of 40,000 men, the Pasha of Bosnia threatened Verlicca, Dernis, and Knin; and advancing with his whole force upon Sign, invested the place. Giorgio Balbi held the castle with a handful of men; and though two pieces of cannon and one mortar were all the artillery on its ramparts, the courage of the garrison supplied all deficiencies; and, after several determined but unsuccessful assaults, the Turks were forced to retire.*

A. D. 1717. Two years after this, in 1717, the Provveditor-Generale Mocenigo, overran the fertile plain of Mostar, burnt the suburbs of that city, and desolated the neighbouring country, along the course of the Narenta. He then undertook the siege of the castle of Imoschi †, with a large body of infantry and cavalry; and, having defeated a corps of Turks, sent to its relief, he began the assault. The outer wall of circumvallation was

* See above, Vol. I. p. 235. † See above, p. 140.

forced; the walls were mined; and the terrified garrison agreed to give up the place, on condition of being permitted to leave it with the honours of war.

Mocenigo then marched to the southward, into (Venetian) Albania, where his arms met with equal success, and secured the interests of the Republic.

With the peace of Passarovitz, in 1718, terminated all acts of hostility in Dalmatia. The power of the Venetians had been so much crippled in the Levant, particularly by the cession of the Morea to the Turks, that their small acquisitions in Dalmatia were a very slight compensation for the losses they had sustained: the same difficulties were also experienced on this, as on a previous occasion, in settling the boundaries of the country; every trifling question being referred for settlement to Constantinople; and it was not till 1726 that matters were definitively arranged.

At length, the fall of the Republic, in 1797, entirely changed the fate of Dalmatia; and, as soon as the Venetian Senate had determined on delivering up their city to the French without resistance, the Dalmatian troops in garrison there were sent back to their native country. A.D. 1797–98.

The return of a large body of men might have endangered the tranquillity of a province, now no longer under the strong arm of an organised government; but, with the exception of a few assaults upon certain individuals, all passed off with

good order; the more creditable as there were not wanting intriguing persons, who tried to tamper with the army and the people; and the efforts of some influential individuals were sufficient to maintain the public peace.

An Austrian governor soon afterwards arrived in Dalmatia, with an army and fleet; and the Imperialists having come into possession of the country, by the treaty of Campo Formio, the Austrian flag was substituted, in July 1798, for the standard of St. Mark.

As soon as the new governor of the province reached Zara, a council was appointed to superintend the administration of affairs; and many salutary improvements were introduced, to better the condition of the inhabitants. And though the Austrian government granted none of the privileges enjoyed by free people, and forbade as a crime the mention of political rights, the Dalmatians had no reason to regret the change on this score; and the substitution of Austrian for Venetian laws was an undoubted advantage.

In civil actions, simple and well-defined justice took the place of a complicated and declamatory forensic system; and though in penal cases crimes were punished with equal rigour by both, the Austrian laws, from being reduced into a code, were not subject to the uncertainty that pervaded those dependent on precedents, or the conscience of the

judge.* The public contributions were left as before, some little change being alone made in the mode of levying them; and the territorial authorities remained the same, though with increased salaries, in order to put a stop to exactions and the claim of fees.

In most respects the province had reason to rejoice in being transferred to the government of the Austrians; impediments were no longer thrown in the way of education, or the mental improvement of the people; and schools were established, as in other parts of the empire.

The conduct of the Venetians, in many instances, had been actuated by the narrowest policy. It was even proposed in the Senate, in order effectually to keep the Dalmatians in subjection, to do every thing to render them poor and ignorant. For this purpose, it was ordained that all the mulberry and olive trees should be cut down, to check the accumulation of wealth by the export of silk and oil; when great numbers of the former were actually destroyed, and the determined interference of the people alone saved the olive trees; which have ever since been a source of great profit to the province. Every artifice was also employed, to prevent the establishment of schools; so that those, who wished to have their sons educated, were obliged to send them to Italy, or be content with the instruction obtained from the clergy;

* See Catalinich, vol. iv. p. 63.

and no colleges of public education were established, with the exception of one at Spálato for the Romish clergy, founded, in 1700, by Stefano Cosmi, archbishop of that city, under the protection of Cardinal Ottoboni; the other seminario, near Almissa, not having been established till 1796. By keeping the people in ignorance and poverty, they hoped more easily to govern the country; rich proprietors were discouraged; and whenever any lands were recovered from the Turks by the Venetians, instead of being restored to their original owners, they were appropriated by the state. The odious policy, which has been adopted by other despotic governments, of encouraging discord between the nobles and the people, was also resorted to, with a view to keep the population disunited; and the harshness of their triennial governors often went into the extreme of disregarding the most sacred rights.

Of this a remarkable instance occurred, in the case of the celebrated Giovanni Lucio of Träù. In 1650, the Provveditor-Generale Contarini having arrived in that city, Lucio's house happened to be selected as his place of abode; and, on his sending to urge the serious illness of his sister, as a plea for not receiving the Provveditor, Paolo Andreis, who was a bitter enemy of his, artfully altered the excuse; when Contarini, without further inquiry, had him arrested, and ignominiously confined in prison, loaded with chains, in the midst of the common

galley-slaves. Then, ordering the house to be cleared out by a party of convicts, he took possession of it; and not content with such acts of oppression and injustice, he even commanded that distinguished man to be *bastinadoed*. But the interposition of the Bishop of Träù prevented this outrage; and, as soon as he was liberated, at the expiration of Contarini's rule at Träù, he left his country, and retired to Rome; where he composed the valuable work, which is the foundation of Dalmatian history.*

The security of persons and property, the establishment of an efficient police, and the clear definition of legal rights, were the early care of the Austrian Government; and a regular corps of police having been organised, for the protection of the towns, and of the country, the Haiduks, who had long infested the province, were put down.

These Haiduks (or Aiducs) were not, as some have supposed, a peculiar race of people; but a band of lawless marauders, who lived on pillage, and often defied the vigilance of the Venetian authorities. They consisted principally of Morlacchi, who, though (like the Uscocs) originally confining their depredations to the Turkish states, afterwards scrupled not to plunder their own countrymen; and foreigners and friends were equally exposed to their robberies, when booty could be obtained.

* Memorie, vol. ii. p. 233. note.

They had often compromised the Venetian Government by their invasion of the Turkish territory during a truce; and the difficulty of stopping or punishing them, when insisted on by the Porte, often led to angry discussions between the Turks and Venetians.

In this community of bandits, which was constantly increased by new accessions, the proportion of women to men was, as might be expected, very small; and a singular custom existed among the Haiduks, which obliged the widow to marry again, before the burial of her husband.*

The name of Haiduk answered to the Italian "*bravo*." He was a robber by profession; and it is a remarkable fact, that in Poland the expression "de jure et de *Haida*" is applied to any one, who would gain his point "by law or *force*." The word itself is said to be Hungarian, not Slavonic.

In Poland, the Haiduk was formerly part of the establishment of a wealthy mansion; he was the peculiar attendant of the master of the house (like the pipe-bearer of a Turk), but unarmed, except on a journey: he was also employed in a similar capacity in Prussia; and some are retained in old Polish families to the present day.

But it is in Servia that the Haiduks have en-

* A similar custom obliged the widow of an Uscoc to marry again on the death of her husband. See the History of the Uscocs at the end of Chapter IX.

joyed the greatest reputation, for their valiant deeds, and the cause they espoused.

George Tzerni* (Petrovich) and Veliko, the celebrated champions of Servian liberty in the beginning of the present century, were both of that noted class; and though overwhelmed by the superior power of the Porte, the cause of Servia has still reason to thank their exertions in behalf of liberty; and, despite the intrigues of faction, and Turkish influence, the son of George Tzerni, Alexander Georgevich, was elected, in 1842, by the popular voice, to rule that country in the stead of the family of Milosh.

Neither the cause, nor the conduct, of the Haiduks could, at any time, be deemed worthy of the same success in Dalmatia, where they only appeared in the character of robbers; and their suppression, partially attempted by the Venetians, and finally accomplished by the Austrians, was welcomed by all classes in Dalmatia.

This tended in no small degree to the welfare and tranquillity of the province. The Austrians also resolved on abolishing the custom of retaliation; which had been the cause of so many deadly feuds among the Morlacchi: and other projects were devised for ameliorating the condition of the Dalmatians. But they were doomed to be interrupted, by the change of affairs in Europe; and

* Or Cherny, often called *Kara*, which means the same in Turkish, "*black*." See above, p. 179.

the whole province, with the Bocche di Cattaro, was ceded to the French by Austria, at the peace of Presburgh, on the 26th December, 1805.

During the interval that occurred between the departure of the Austrian army, and the arrival of the French, a Russian fleet of eleven sail, with frigates and small craft, having on board 6000 troops, arrived in the Mediterranean from the Baltic, and took possession of the Bocche di Cattaro. The Dalmatians, who witnessed the transfer of their country from Austrian to French rule, and the interference of the Russians in the south, awaited the issue of events, over which neither their wishes, nor their efforts, could have any control; while the French, who had not calculated on meeting any opposition to their occupation of the country, were badly prepared to take forcible possession of it, and expel the Russians from the portion they had seized. They were strangers to the Dalmatians, to their language, and their inclinations; and their own resources were too distant to obtain a speedy or effectual support. A Russian envoy had also gone to Montenegro, to persuade its wild mountaineers to join the troops of the Czar: and the similarity of religion, as well as language, speedily secured their opposition to the French.

A.D. 1806. General Molitor, with an army of about 5000 infantry, reached the territory of Knin on the 12th of February, 1806, and took

possession of that fortress: a detachment was then sent to occupy Zara, and another to Sign; which places were then evacuated by the small Austrian garrisons left to guard them; and the main body of the French army marched thence by Dernis to Sebeníco; and following the coast to Träù, Spálato, Macarska, and the Narenta, advanced towards the Bocche di Cattaro.

About half way, between the peninsula of Sabioncello and Cattaro, was the small, but independent state of Ragusa, which had preserved its liberty, during the wars that so often desolated Dalmatia, and had attained to a flourishing condition by its industry and commerce.*

The Ragusans had often found themselves in positions of great difficulty, in bygone times, from the caprice of the Princes of Servia, and the jealousy of Venice; but the present threatening aspect of affairs caused them far greater embarrassment; and when the importance of its position induced the Russians to solicit permission, to occupy their city, and its fortifications, as friends and allies, before the arrival of the French, the prospect of similar demands from their rivals presented to them the disagreeable alternative, of choosing which of the two they would make an enemy, or a friend. In vain the Senate sought to avert the evil,

* See above, Vol. I. p. 274. to p. 354.; the History, and Commerce, of Ragusa.

or to suggest the means of escaping from this dilemma; the difficulty of protecting the place against any hostile attack, with the feeble garrison it contained, was evident; and the variety of opinions prevented their coming to any decision.

While, in this state of embarrassment, one of the Senators, Giovanni Count Caboga, addressed the assembly in these remarkable words: — "Of the sincere affection that binds me and my family to my country, some opinion may be formed from the conduct of one of my ancestors, after the fatal earthquake of 1667, and from the various diplomatic missions with which I have been intrusted. Our state, threatened with the loss of its liberty, and of the institutions religiously maintained by our forefathers, and hitherto preserved by us, will soon cease to be the abode of free and independent citizens. We have a sufficient number of vessels: let us then emigrate with our families, our fortunes, and the public wealth, and preserve our own laws, rather than expose Ragusa to armed violence. The Great Sultan has always treated us kindly; let us request him to grant us an asylum, in some island of the Archipelago, or in any other part of his dominions, where we may find, in a new Epidaurus, a refuge for our laws, our customs, and our institutions. For an extreme evil I see nothing but an extreme remedy." *

* Catalinich, vol. iv. p. 78. See above, Vol. I. p. 346.

However energetic this appeal to his country, and however much some were disposed to trust to the promises of Russia, to maintain the independence of Ragusa, in preference to those of the French, the result was that the gates were opened to the latter, and General Lauriston took possession of the town.

This was the signal for every calamity to befal the Ragusans. Their ships were sequestered in the ports of every country at war with France, or seized on the sea; the small garrison of 1200 French soldiers, which had taken military occupation of the works, was not sufficient to protect the lands, or even the suburbs, from the destructive attacks of the Russians and Montenegrins; and the losses sustained on this occasion, by the state of Ragusa, have been estimated at fourteen millions of francs. And such was the desolation, which then took place in the lands belonging to it, that the only means of enabling the inhabitants to recover, was to exempt them, for many years, from the burthens of taxation.

The gardens and villas, on the banks of the land-locked bay of Gravosa, and in the beautiful valley of the Ombla, the result of industry and taste, where the Ragusans sought to retire after the toils of commercial pursuits, were doomed to that desolation, which the contact of barbarians brings on the frail creations of refinement and civilisation: the prosperity, and the very existence

of Ragusa, as a place of commerce, were annihilated; and such is the forlorn condition to which it has been reduced, that a square-rigged vessel is now seldom seen in a port, which once traded with all parts of the world.*

Amidst the desolation caused by the wild Montenegrins, and the fears of falling into the hands of an enemy, whose excesses neither the interference of their allies the Russians, nor the authority of their own Vladika, could have checked, a bright gleam of hope beamed forth upon Ragusa, in the arrival of succours from General Molitor; when the Russians and Montenegrins, deceived by false intelligence, and panic-struck by the supposed approach of a large force, fled with precipitation; and Ragusa was freed from the presence of those relentless enemies.

July 6. A. D. 1806.

The difficulties experienced by the French, on this occasion, showed the necessity of sending a larger force to occupy Dalmatia; and General Marmont (afterwards Marshal, and Duke of Ragusa) was appointed to the command of the province, with a force of 9000 men.

The Russians and Montenegrins, in the meanwhile, had taken possession of the fortress of Castel Nuovo, at the entrance of the Bocche di Cattaro†, and occupied an advanced position on the heights

* See above, Vol. I. p. 353.

† The "mouths" of the "canale," or gulf, of Cattaro. See Vol. I. p. 379.

of Sutorina. To free the district of Cattaro from their presence, it was absolutely necessary to dislodge them from that fortress, and the French advanced against it; but though they succeeded, after an obstinate resistance, in driving them from their lines, they were not in sufficient force to besiege Castel Nuovo, and dispossess them of the other places in the neighbourhood.

The French therefore demanded the interference of Austria; the occupation by another power, of what had been ceded to them by treaty, giving them this claim on the court of Vienna; but even this failed to remove the enemy from Dalmatia; and, to support their plan of operations, the Russians took possession of the Isle of Curzola.

Their next attempt was against that of Lesina. On the 29th of April, 1807, a Russian line of battle ship, and several other armed vessels, entered the port, and demanded the surrender of the place. The Fort Spagnuolo on the hill, and a small battery on the left of the port, were the only defences of the town; but the French boldly resisted both the demand, and the attacks that followed it, and obliged the Russians to abandon all hopes of taking the place, with the loss of the troops they had landed. A.D. 1807.

Their descent upon the Isle of Brazza was more successful; and the rising of the people of Poglizza, and of the territory called Primorie of Macarska, promised to further their views.

Poglizza was a small republic, in the rugged district of Mount Mossor, about eight miles to the south of Spálato, and extending to the vicinity of Douáré. During the wars that raged between the Turks and Venetians, its independence had always been respected by both parties, and it was governed by Counts of its own election *; when the transfer of Dalmatia to French rule suddenly doomed Poglizza to lose its freedom. For though its union with the Russians was the immediate cause of its downfal, there is little doubt, that its existence as an independent state would not have been thought compatible with the policy then adopted by France; and the rights of Poglizza would scarcely have been allowed to survive those of Ragusa. That the sympathies of the Poglizzans should have been raised in favour of the Russians is consistent with the many instances we have, of the tendency of the Slavonians to assist others of the same race, in spite of a difference of religious creed †; but they had no sooner joined them, than they found how imprudent it was, to hope for efficient support from the Russians, and to draw down upon themselves the resentment of the French.

The first act of hostility, on the part of the Poglizzans, was their firing on a guard of fifteen soldiers, marching from Spálato to Almissa; soon

* See an account of this Republic; above, p. 195.

† Remarkable instances of which are mentioned above, in pp. 179. 355.

after which, the French took possession of the bridge of Xernóvniza, and were attacked by the people of Stobrez.* In the meantime, the Russian fleet anchored off the mouth of the river; and the Poglizzans, joined by 400 Russians, who had landed on the coast, took up a position at Stroxanaz, near Stobrez; when, finding themselves outflanked by another column of French, which had appeared towards Slivno, this small corps, unable to hold out, took refuge on board the Russian ships.

The whole vengeance of the French now fell on the villages of the Poglizzans. All the houses were pillaged, and every one who was unable to escape was put to the sword. "Although," says Major Catalinich, "it is inexcusable, in a weak people, to rise against a government, it is not less rare in modern history, to find a regular army pass for three whole days, from place to place, from village to village, laying hands on life, and every species of property, destroying all that it could not take away, and that too without being provoked by resistance†;" but "this real act of unrestrained passion, though highly disapproved by the commander-in-chief," was not the sole punishment that awaited the Poglizzans: "The Veliki Kniaz, 'or Great Count,' the six Counts of the villages, the *Voivoda*, the Chancellor, and five

* Pronounced Stobretz, the ancient Epetium.

† Catalinich, vol. iv. p. 121.

other individuals were condemned to be shot, wherever they might be found, their goods were confiscated, and their habitations razed to the ground."

The Russians, taking advantage of the position of the French, who were occupied in their *razziah* against the Poglizzans, and were separated from Almissa by the river Cettina, took possession of that town; from which they cut off all communication on the side of Spálato, by means of their fleet. In vain the French cannonaded Almissa, from the heights of Poglizza above the Cettina; and the garrison could not be dislodged, until a strong detachment had been sent round through the interior, on the side of Douáré; when the Russians, finding themselves attacked in the rear, abandoned the place, and retired to their ships; taking with them the remnant of the Poglizzans, who had escaped the general massacre of their countrymen.

Various attempts were then made by the Russians in the Primorie, and other places along the coast, to molest the French, and excite the people to revolt; but the peace of Tilsit, in July, 1807, put an end to hostilities, and the Russians withdrew from Dalmatia.

On the retirement of the Russians, some kind of lenity might have been expected towards the Dalmatians, from a government which had never done any thing to gain their affections, and which had no claims to their gratitude, or even to their allegiance,

beyond the right of sovereignty ceded by treaty. But the French adopted severe measures; and, with the idea of preventing future disaffection, they resolved on terrifying the Dalmatians into resignation to their will, and established a military court to inquire into past events. "This inquisition," says Catalinich*, "superintended by a captain of the staff, was held at Spálato. During the time it was in force, the cruel spectacle was daily exhibited in that city, of the arrival, by land and sea, of monks, priests, nobles, citizens, and *sirdars*, who had been arrested, and were conducted with beat of drum into the vast enclosure of the Lazaretto. Its magazines, formerly used for receiving goods from Turkey, were then converted into prisons; and the number of proscribed persons exceeded 300." They were afterwards transported to the dungeons of Cattaro, and thence sent into France; whence those who survived returned to their country, after a long and painful captivity, on the restoration of the Bourbons.†

The fate of Ragusa was the more melancholy from its previously flourishing condition, the losses it had suffered in its commerce, and the desolation of its lands; and the Ragusans found little compensation, in the honour of giving a title to the Governor-General of Dalmatia, for the evils conse-

* Vol. iv. p. 129.

† This is a short summary of the account given by Catalinich, pp. 129—133.

quent upon having sided with the French. And though, instead of bearing arms against France, Ragusa had received her troops as friends, at a time that greater advantages were promised by admitting the Russians, this did not ensure any respect for its liberty, or its rights: its downfal was ordained; and at the end of January, 1808, a decree proclaimed, with the usual set phrase, that the Republic of Ragusa had "ceased to exist."

The departure of the Russians had freed the Bocche di Cattaro from foreign occupation; but the presence of the English in the Adriatic proved a greater source of anxiety to the French.

A.D. 1808, 1809.

Lissa, the resort of vessels of various flags, which, while it improved its own trade, encouraged smuggling along the coast, was occupied by the English, and so much did it profit by becoming a free port, that in three years the population amounted to more than 12,000 souls.* Secret communications were kept up between it and the Dalmatian coast; and though the productions of the island were insufficient to supply the daily wants of the inhabitants, it was furnished with every kind of provisions; the introduction of which no watchfulness, on the part of the French, could prevent. The profits made, both by the Lissans, and the Dalmatians, were immense; and the latter were too much interested

* The island has now 7502 inhabitants.

in this trade to regard the risk they incurred. The position of the island also enabled the English to make frequent attacks upon the towns of Dalmatia, and to capture numerous trading vessels along the coast: in 1809 the French garrison was driven out of Pésaro, and thirteen merchant vessels were seized; the town of Grao, near Trieste, was taken in June, 1810; islands, creeks, and ports were constantly exposed to the hostile visits of British cruisers*; and commercial intercourse could only be carried on from town to town by stealth.

Vexed by these repeated interruptions to their trade and security, and, above all, nettled by the establishment of the English within sight of their coast, the French resolved on trying to dispossess them of Lissa. The smallness of the British force promised success, and an expedition was prepared in the port of Ancona. It was put under the orders of Captain Dubordieu, of the Favorite, and on the 13th of March, 1811, it arrived off Lissa.

The squadron consisted of three French, and one Italian, 44-gun frigates, two corvettes of 32 guns, a 16-gun brig, a schooner, two gun-boats, and a Xebec, bearing a total of 284 guns. It had also a body of troops, amounting to 506 men, destined to occupy the island.

The British squadron, commanded by Captain

* See Memoirs of Sir W. Hoste, vol. i. p. 335., and vol. ii. p. 25. to p. 302.

Hoste, consisted of the Amphion, Active, Cerberus, and Volage, mounting altogether 156 guns.

The French advanced in two divisions; but the impetuosity of Dubordieu was the cause of the immediate defeat of his squadron, and of his own death. Crowding all sail, he bore down, and attempted to run on board, and carry, the Amphion; but the English reserving their fire, until the enemy was close upon them, poured a destructive broadside upon the gangway of the Favorite, crowded as it was with troops ready to second the boarders; when the gallant Dubordieu* being killed, the whole squadron was thrown into confusion. The Favorite went on shore, and blew up; others were captured; and some escaped, among which was the Flora, which sailed away, most dishonourably, after having struck to the Amphion; and having taken refuge in the port of Lesina, was refused to the just demands of Captain Hoste, after the battle†; though it was clearly shown that the Amphion had abstained from firing on her, in consequence of her colours being struck, and that she might have sunk her in the action.

This attack determined the English to fortify Lissa, and take military possession of the island.

* Captain Hoste in his despatch says, "In justice to a brave man, I must say that he set a noble example of intrepidity to those under him." See his Memoirs, vol. ii. pp. 54. 71. 318.

† See the letter of the lieutenant of the Flora, *without signature*, in the Memoirs of Sir W. Hoste, vol. ii. p. 72.

In July, 1812, a Governor was appointed, and tribunals were established; and Lissa continued in our possession until ceded to Austria in 1814.

Fresh hostilities had broken out between the French and Austrians, in 1809. The former had withdrawn their forces from Dalmatia, excepting those required for garrisoning the principal fortresses; and the Austrians thought the moment favourable for attempting to regain possession of that province. Zara was blockaded by land and sea; and was soon after occupied by the Austrians; the Isle of Lesina was recovered, through the co-operation of some of the principal inhabitants; and Spálato, with the Riviera dei Castelli, welcomed the return of their former masters.

The treaty of Vienna, signed October 14. 1809, soon afterwards restored Dalmatia to the French; which again became one of the provinces of the Illyrian kingdom; and their return was the signal for fresh persecutions. A military commission was established at Sebeníco, authorised to judge the Dalmatians accused of favouring the Austrians; and many were condemned to be shot. The Fort St. Nicolo, at the mouth of that harbour, once more served as a place of confinement, for those who had been obnoxious to the French; and the sufferings of the "Cisalpine prisoners" are still recorded in the songs of the country. But to the persecuting system of the French government, it is gratifying to be able to contrast the clemency of

Marmont; who, on several occasions, took upon himself the responsibility of pardoning political offenders; and the town of Scardona, which had made an active demonstration in favour of the Austrians, was saved by him from the effects of military vengeance.

The results of the Russian campaign gave the Austrians an opportunity of recovering what had been wrested from them by French invasion; and while the allies were following up their successes in the North of Europe, the Austrians and English united to drive the enemy from Dalmatia.

A.D. 1814. Sebenico was taken; Zara was besieged by a British squadron; and on the arrival of the Austrian troops this, and all the other towns, of Dalmatia, were captured. The whole province then returned once more to the dominion of Austria; from which it has not since been separated; Ragusa was also united to Dalmatia, and became the capital of the Circolo, to which it has given its name; and the Emperor of Austria took the title of King of Dalmatia*, Duke (*Herzog*) of Ragusa and Zara, and Master (*Herr*) of Cattaro.

The two narrow strips of land occupied by the Turks, to isolate the Ragusan from the Venetian territories, were alone excluded from Dalmatia;

* The titles of *King*, and *Duke*, of Dalmatia continued to be held by different persons, as it was of old; and another French Marshal was Duke of Ragusa. See above, pp. 228. 235.

and it is a singular fact that they continue, to this day, in possession of the Porte. No offer of compensation can prevail on the Turks to cede those useless possessions; their religion, or their prejudices, forbid them giving up any territory to "*Infidels*," and force alone permits them to forego their scruples, though they might profit by the change.*

In the short summary I have given of Dalmatian history, I have confined myself to the principal events, without digressing more than necessary, to notice those even which might be considered a portion of it; but the part performed by the Uscocs in that country, and the singular audacity of those blood-thirsty pirates, are too intimately connected with the Venetian sway in Dalmatia, not to deserve a fuller notice, than could be given in the body of the History; I shall therefore introduce an account of them, abridged from Minucci and Fra Paolo; which contains the principal events of their career, and which serves to show the policy and conduct of Austria and Venice, in the long-disputed question of their removal from the coast.

* See above, p. 358., and Vol. I. pp. 373. 375.

SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF THE USCOCS.*

"THE Uscocs are people of Dalmatia, who, on account of some crime committed, or from impatience of tyranny, fled from their rulers and princes; as is shown from their name, '*Scoco*,' which means 'a fugitive.'† They began to acquire renown, about one hundred years ago, when the Turks, after invading Hungary and Greece, spread over Bulgaria, Servia, and Rascia, and made inroads on the confines of Croatia and Dalmatia; in consequence of which, many brave men, not able to live under the Turkish tyranny, retired to some Christian fortress, and holding secret communication with the relations and friends they had left in their conquered country, made constant incursions on the Turks, and wrought them much evil.

"The first, and most famous, stronghold chosen by the Uscocs, was Clissa; where Peter Crusich was at that time governor, as feudatory for the crown of Hungary; who, trusting to the impregnability of the site, gave them free welcome; incautiously judging that he could, with their aid, fortify his own position, and perhaps extend his frontier, at the same time that he profited by their booty.

"But it fell out exactly contrary to his expectations; for the Turks, provoked by continual forays, turned their thoughts to the destruction of Clissa, in the year 1537, which perhaps they never would have dreamt of, seeing the difficulty of the enterprise, if Crusich had been con-

* From Minuccio Minucci, Fra Paolo, and another writer.

† Minucci says "in *Latin*," but the word is Slavonic, and means literally "one who jumps." It is applied to "a deserter, or "a refugee." See above, p. 187., and Vol. I. p. 182.

tent to let well alone, without putting his foot into the wasp's nest. Perceiving, too late, the ruin which menaced him, he implored assistance from Pope Paul III., and the Emperor Ferdinand; and while endeavouring with the troops they sent him, to destroy two forts, erected * by the enemy to reduce Clissa by investment, he was completely routed, and slain; and his head stuck on a pole by the Turks, and exhibited to the Clissans, inspired them with such a panic, that they suddenly resolved to capitulate, in despair of being able to hold out any longer.

"During the siege of Clissa, which lasted more than a year, a memorable circumstance occurred, which I will here relate, as it has never been mentioned by any body else.

"In the Turkish camp was a soldier named Bagora, of immense stature, and tremendous strength; who, like another Goliath, daily challenged the besieged to single combat, taunting them for their cowardice, in keeping behind the shelter of their walls. The Christians blushed with shame; but, restrained by the prudence of their chief, held back from the encounter; till a youth, named Milosh, who served Crusich† as a page, implored his master's permission to fight with Bagora; and when reproved for his audacity, replied that he trusted in God to give him victory, feeling elected, like another David against Goliath, to overthrow the pride of Bagora; whereas, if he was killed, it would be of little moment, and the defeat of a mere boy by a Turk of such renown would be no dishonour to the Christians.

"Accordingly, he sallied forth, accompanied by the

* They were built before; see above, p. 293., and Vol. I. p. 163.

† Minucci writes these names Milosso and Crosichio.

devout prayers of all the citizens, and with almost the first blow of his scimitar, cut his enemy's leg clean off; who, nevertheless, continued fighting on the stump, and with so much fury, that the brave youth in vain sought to finish his victory. Indeed he had enough to do, to parry his blows; till, on his adroitly avoiding a stroke dealt by him with all his might, the Turk, who was on one leg, lost his balance, and fell prostrate; his scimitar at the same time flying out of his hand with such force, that the by-standers thought he had thrown it on purpose at Milosh, who was pelting him with stones from a distance. Upon this, unwilling to kill him like a dog, when he was down, Milosh ran up, and gave him the death of a warrior, by cutting off his head with his own weapon. It was immediately carried in triumph to Clissa; but the place being taken soon after, the rejoicing for this gallant deed was only short-lived.

"Clissa having fallen into the hands of the Turks, the Uscocs took refuge in Segna, a city hidden in the inaccessible recesses of the Gulf of Quarnéro (or Carnero, so called from the mountains of Carnia), the dwelling place of perpetual tempest; judging it well suited for their purposes, from the natural strength of its position; since by land it was difficult of access, on account of impenetrable forests, and rugged mountains, and by sea there was no port. The Bora wind, too, from its almost always blowing there, gave rise to the common opinion, that the Uscocs were able to raise it at will, by lighting a fire in a certain cave in the mountain; which heating the veins of the earth, made them send forth, by subterraneous passages, furious exhalations, causing the impetuous winds that sweep those narrow straits.

"Segna, at that time, belonged to the Counts Frangipani,

who once possessed large territories in the neighbourhood, now reduced to small estate, through the lack, in their posterity, of those chivalrous qualities, by which their ancestors acquired them. But since the Turks had cast a longing eye upon Segna, as an appurtenance of the crown of Hungary, to which Sultan Suleyman pretended a claim, in virtue of possessing the capital of that kingdom, the Emperor Ferdinand, alarmed by the recent loss of Clissa, and fearing to leave a place so important, not only to himself, but to the safety of all Italy, in the hands of a petty chief, prudently resolved to unite it to his crown, that he might defend it with his superior resources. With this view, he accepted the offers of the Uscocs to garrison it for the empire, on honourable military conditions; because, knowing them to be men accustomed not only to hard marches, but to run barefoot through wood and brake, he expected by their aid to keep the Turks from encroaching on that frontier, and to drive them out of Lika and Corbavia, whence the greatest peril was to be apprehended.

"At first, this design answered well enough, so long as the Uscocs confined themselves to making war, by sortie and stratagem, against the enemy; but, ere long, they began to convert honourable military enterprises into robbery and pillage, for which they became odious to the whole neighbourhood; and even the very same Milosh, who had acquired so much glory under Clissa, in the combat with Bagora, corrupted at Segna by the bad habit of constant depredation, after he had become a man of wonderful valour and prowess, sullied his fame, and finished his life on the gallows at Zara.

"The Uscocs, availing themselves of their maritime position, had introduced the use of swift barks; in which

they coasted along the shore, and secured the booty they made inland, from any sudden assault of the Turks, by concealing it among the bushes, or even by submerging it under water, when hard pressed in pursuit. With these light boats, they attacked even the vessels of merchants, whenever they found a convenient opportunity to surprise them by stratagem, or by night; and though professing, at the outset, not to touch the persons, or goods, of Christians, but only those of Jews and Turks, they very soon treated all alike. Commerce being thus endangered, loud complaints were made at Constantinople against the Venetians, who were bound, by the conditions of the peace, to keep the Adriatic clear for the navigation of Turkish subjects; and Suleyman announced his intention of sending an armament himself, to extirpate the Uscocs, and secure the freedom of the Gulf.

"In this dilemma, the Republic appealed to the Pope, in order that his Apostolic authority might influence the Emperor to remedy the evil, at the same time that the Venetian armed gallies gave chase to the Uscocs, wherever they could be found; but though the representations made to the Imperial Court abated, for a little while, the insolence of these robbers, it was only a short-lived respite; they soon returned to their old habits; principally because the Princes of Austria, engaged in various other undertakings, were not regular in the payment of the promised stipends, so that their soldiers were driven by necessity to support themselves by pillage.

"The different governors of Segna, too, cared not to prevent these excesses, partly on account of having no money to give the soldiery, and sometimes from private motives, as they enriched themselves by participation in the booty. Moreover, both in the Courts of Gratz, and

of the empire, the Uscocs had many well-wishers; some from feelings of ill-will to the Venetians, others influenced by the rich gifts presented by these robbers; wherefore, no hope was held out of extirpating this evil race, save by force of arms. But this was of small avail, owing to the nature of the country, abounding in rocks, islands, and hiding places, that in every age had been the resort of corsairs, and afforded great conveniences to the Uscocs; who with their swift barks, smaller than those of the Venetians, speedily retreated, when pursued, into little creeks and channels, where larger vessels could not enter, or ran on shore, and being agile, and daring of foot, scaled the precipitous coast of Dalmatia, like so many goats, where no one could follow them.

"Besides, they made friends among the discontented Venetian subjects, whom they took care not to injure; and consequently they had always faithful spies, who, by means of concerted signal-fires and smoke, warned them of danger; not to mention that the Venetian ships were commonly manned with Slavonians and Croats, who served unwillingly against the Uscocs, with whom they had many ties of relationship and origin, and who, moreover, had the fear of bloody revenge upon their families and homes. Such was the terror these outlaws inspired.

"Another reason rendered vain the cost and perseverance of the Venetians: the number of Uscocs they killed never diminished the troop; for, like the heads of the Hydra which multiplied in blood, Segna was the resort of all disorderly people of every nation, who passed indifferently under the name of Uscocs;"..... (and Leon Brulart, the French Ambassador at Venice, relates that, of the Uscocs who were hung, on the 14th of August, 1618, nine were Englishmen; five of whom were gentlemen; and

another belonged to one of the noblest families of Britain.) . . . . . "Whoever merited punishment for crime, or was drawn thither by his own evil nature, repaired to Segna; and such numbers congregated there, that the town was not large enough to hold them, and they spread abroad into the neighbouring castles of Octossaz, Moschenizza, Bunizze, Brigne, and other places; from which, however, they all collected, when a foray was to be made, by sea or land. And whenever one of these villains, of whatever condition, fell in fight, and left a wife, law or custom obliged the widow to marry again, immediately, another of the same rank; which thus provided for the maintenance of the women and children, and the division of their substance.

"The profession of robbing gradually became so general, that even the plain citizens of Segna, who at first lived by honest industry, began to exercise that trade; and many who were ashamed to mix personally in the ranks of these outcasts, kept in their establishments some servant or retainer, who went out to the foray, and brought back to his master a stipulated share of the booty. Thus all were embarked in the same boat; and the women feasted and made merry, and were clad in scarlet and silk, without troubling their hands with distaff or spindle; and they perpetually stimulated their husbands to sally forth, to supply the wants of their families.

"The Uscocs were divided into three classes, *Stipendiati*, *Casalini*, and *Venturini*. The *Casalini* were those who had a fixed residence in the city, about one hundred in number. Another two hundred, more in name, than reality, *Stipendiati*, were divided into four companies of fifty each, under four captains called *Voivodas*. Besides these were numerous other inferior chieftains, the owners of

pirate boats, with a retinue of vagabonds, without any settled home, who went by the name of *Venturini.*

"Their barks usually held thirty persons, but afterwards they built them large enough for a crew of fifty.

"They generally made two great expeditions, in the course of the year, at Christmas, and at Easter. The expenses of these were defrayed by a public subscription, to which the Voivodas, richer soldiers, women, priests, and friars, all contributed, sharing afterwards in the proceeds of the enterprise. Their exploits against the Turks, and the risks they ran, were truly incredible; attacking them at all times and seasons, and always carrying off many prisoners, and a great number of cattle; so that in a few years Lika and Corbavia became a desert; the few inhabitants being collected in scattered fortifications, and cultivating the surrounding land, under the safeguard of sentinels, posted to give the alarm, directly they espied the approach of an enemy.

"In consequence of these precautions, the forays of the Uscocs became more profitless and dangerous, and often cost them dear; especially after the Turks had established a species of militia, called *Martelossi;* who lived at large among both Christian and Turkish subjects, each house being compelled to maintain a man of this class; — ruffians fit to match the Uscocs, who roamed over the country in troops, oppressing friend and enemy alike, making Christian slaves to sell in distant parts of Turkey, and laying hands on Turks themselves for the same purpose, when they could do so with impunity.

"On account of the increasing difficulty of enterprises by land, the Uscocs turned their attention to the sea; where, under pretext of damaging Turks and Jews, all was fish that came to their net; nevertheless, for a long

time, they continued to treat the islands with forbearance, and never robbed the islanders, or the Dalmatian boats, unless in urgent want; paying for their provisions, according to the success of their adventures; which were generally profitable, from the number of vessels that passed perpetually between the Levant and Venice, across the Adriatic Gulf.

"But this booty also diminished, when the Republic resolved to protect the vessels of most consequence, by an escort of gallies, and afterwards to convey the goods, and persons, of Turks and Jews across to Spalato, in a ship, accompanied, in time of need, by one or more armed gallies. The Uscocs, therefore, began to ill-treat their previous friends and allies; they plundered the islands of Veglia, Arbe, and Pago, and those about Zara, and committed such depredations there, that the inhabitants, in despair, abandoned their country, and those who were able to bear arms hastened to enrol themselves in the long-boats, which the Republic maintained, to the number of thirty, for the express purpose of chasing the corsairs up the narrow straits, where the water was shallow. . . .

"The excesses of the Uscocs at last drew on them the indignation of other Christian potentates. The King of Spain was moved by the complaints of the merchants of the realm of Naples, trading with Venice in wine, grain, and almonds; and united with the Pope, in representing to the House of Austria the shame of harbouring such a nest of robbers. The Pope was more especially animated with the desire to see a stop put to the scandal, because the Venetian gallies, being wholly occupied with looking after these rascals, could no longer scour the Pontifical seas, to protect them from the Barbary, and Greek, corsairs; who carried off, every year, a rich booty, and a num-

ber of slaves, with perfect impunity; no other power being able to keep the sea clear, partly from want of harbours, and partly because all the waters, from Otranto and Vallona, as far as Venice, had from olden time belonged to the dominion of the Venetians.

"These arguments and interests, represented to the Emperor, with all the authority of the apostolic chair, and the crown of Spain, produced no other effect than specious promises, and feigned indignation. Commissioners were sent, however, several times to Segna; who, now and then, hung one or two, perhaps of the least guilty; restored some cargo; and gave commands to the Governor not to allow the Uscocs an exit by sea, nor to admit them when they returned from pillage; after which restrictive measures they would proceed, for some months, with more caution; and then, as if to make up for lost time, become worse than ever. Occasionally, when the ruffians arrived with some valuable prize, the Governor, to show his obedience to orders, used to shut the gates in their faces, and fire the cannon at them, taking special care not to do them any harm, and at night let in both men, and stolen goods; the greater part of which generally belonged to himself.

"After the thieves had made merry with their families some few days, they found it necessary to return to their vocation, or die of hunger; for having contributed so much to satiate the rapacity of their Governor and his favourites, and to maintain themselves in the good graces of those in authority at the Imperial Court, a very small part remained to themselves; as may be guessed from the poverty and misery in which they always lived, none of them having ever been known to become rich. Indeed, I have heard the same from an old Uscoc; who, being bedridden and reduced to beggary, confessed that the booty which

had passed through his hands in his day, could not have amounted to less than 8000 ducats; and yet he was starving, by the inevitable decree of Divine Justice.

"I have been also told that certain pillaged merchants, carrying their complaints to the Austrian Court, to endeavour to obtain some compensation for their losses, have recognised jewels, and other precious goods, on the wives of the principal officials. Thus, excellent princes, of incomparable integrity, may be deluded by evil counsellors taking advantage of their clemency to sully the renown acquired by the House of Austria, of rarely, if ever, having punished a minister for any crime, or confiscated ill-gotten wealth; nevertheless, those monarchs merit, perhaps, a juster fame, who, while liberal to reward merit, are equally severe to chastise short-comers.

"For these infamous reasons, the Uscocs succeeded in defeating all endeavours to repress their insolence. The Imperial Court found an excuse, in the universal character of borderers of all countries, for tolerating robbers and malefactors, because they were most capable of defending an important frontier; but promised, notwithstanding, to command the Governor of Segna, to punish rigorously whoever violated the Venetian territory, or in any way molested Christians. These commands the Captain declared it was not in his power to comply with, owing to the want of pay; without which it was impossible to keep up the discipline of the garrison, the average amount whereof was 2000 ducats yearly; but neither the Imperial Court, nor the Archduke at Gratz, being willing to bear the burden of this trifling sum, things continued just as they were.

"The Venetian Government, however, supported, with a prudent patience, these aggravated injuries; resolved to

try every resource rather than an appeal to arms; which they dreaded for three reasons:—First, because their vengeance would fall principally upon the Archduke's innocent subjects, who, they knew, held the Uscocs in equal abhorrence with themselves; secondly, and chiefly, because the Turks offered to invest Segna by land, if the Venetians attacked it by sea; and they were unwilling thus to open a door for the Turks into the bosom of Italy, and seem guilty, before God and man, of bringing down ruin upon all Christendom, while revenging their own private injuries. Prudent men were influenced by a third reason of policy, fearful lest the Turks should fall in love with the beautiful country around the maritime cities (the only possessions remaining to Venice in Dalmatia), and come and settle themselves under the very eyes of their fortified towns, the inhabitants of which would thus be subjected to constant danger, and be excluded from all agricultural pursuits by these barbarians.

"The Holy Pontiff, acquainted with these secret considerations, highly extolled the piety and prudence of the Venetian Senate, in bearing with similar outrages, for the sake of Italy and Christianity; but the crimes of these unbridled robbers could not long remain unvisited by the Divine Justice; it, therefore, came into the mind of Hassan Pacha of Bosnia, to represent to the Porte how unworthy it was of so powerful an empire, to support the perpetual injuries inflicted on the subjects of the Grand Signor, by this little handful of robbers, and to offer, if permission was accorded him, with the forces of his own province alone, not only to root out the Uscocs, but to enlarge the confines of the Ottoman empire, by the remains of the kingdom of Croatia, and the neighbouring Austrian states.

"Hassan, a man of great strength of body, and vigour of mind, endowed with military genius, and ambitious of glory, easily persuaded the Porte to second his designs; forcibly representing the cruelties of these corsairs, who were so dreaded, that the common form of speech at Constantinople and the neighbouring provinces, when any one wished his neighbour well, was to say, 'God preserve thee from falling into the hands of the Uscocs.' War, therefore, began in the year 1592, and lasted till this time (1602), with various success; in which we Christians have had continual occasion to acknowledge the Divine protection of Almighty God, who, in His merited chastisement, hath never permitted us to be utterly overborne by the enemies of His holy Name.

"At the commencement of hostilities, Hassan was completely successful, taking possession of Sisach and Bichiach * without much difficulty; and reasonable fears were entertained, that Croatia and all Hungary would fall an easy prey to the enemy; when Divine Mercy was pleased to save the Christians from utter ruin. For, the following year, as Hassan, with his victorious army, marched down the river, intending to proceed by that way to the siege of Segna, he was descried advancing, by a few regiments of horse, assembled hastily from the neighbouring Austrian garrisons, rather with the object of watching the enemy, and annoying him by cutting off supplies, than of making head against such a vast disparity of numbers, the Turks being more than 40,000 strong, and the Christians hardly 5000; and these falling on the enemy by surprise, just as they were crossing the river, felt themselves inspired with a sudden ardour, which was evidently miraculous; since, while at first sight of the enemy they had

* Bihach, in Croatia.

been so depressed, that many had already begun to retreat, at a single word from their captain, pointing out the advantages of the attack, they all shouted for battle, and with one consent assaulted the enemy so furiously, that the Turks, panic-struck, fled, without firing a shot, pell-mell across the narrow bridge; which, being only wide enough for two horsemen at a time, prevented their escape. The Christians, inspirited by this unwonted success, fell on them with such hearty zeal, that crowds precipitated themselves in despair into the river; and the waters being swollen, the shores steep, the confusion great, and the hand of God wrathful, few escaped the slaughter; albeit, more met with death from drowning than by the sword, and all the baggage and horses were lost in the flood.

"Among the rest, Hassan and his brother were slain; and the Christians shortly afterwards recovered Sisach, and began to hope better of the war; which, in the space of these last ten years, manifestly shows the protecting hand of God over the Christians. For all our successes have been against human calculation, with unequal forces, ill ordered, and ill officered,—in the midst of miserable discords, and the perfidious malice of the heretics, who have always borne a deadly hate to the Italian and French troops, sent by Clement VIII. and other princes to aid against the Turks; which, with great reason, prompted Count Charles of Mansfelt, when he was the Imperial general, at the siege of Strigonia, to tell David Unganoth, president of the council of war, a renowned cavalier among the Hungarians (who would deserve honourable mention did not heresy sully his name), that he esteemed heretics to be as much his enemies as the Turks themselves; and this was the reason why Unganoth, to save his life, was obliged to give up his office, and leave the camp. These

things being recorded elsewhere, it is enough for us to show that the war arose entirely on account of the Uscocs, and that the extreme peril, to which all Christendom has been reduced, is owing entirely to them.

"At the first rumour of hostilities, Pope Clement solicited, with continual embassies, all Christian princes to oppose the menacing torrent. His Holiness even sent presents to the Cossacks (before mentioned), as also to the Muscovites, and to the Tartars of the Precopensis, among whom it is known some noble Genoese families yet remain, of those who were sent to colonise the city of Caffa, which was the ancient Theodosia, in the Crimea.

"These unusual exertions, together with the vast expenditure of his Holiness, in sending, year after year, so many troops to Hungary, under the command of his nephew, Signor Giovanni Francesco, made the world believe that he would hazard all risks against the Turks; and Rome was full of men from every part of Christendom, with all sorts of schemes against the common enemy. They were listened to, and many were fee'd, to retain their services. Among them were emissaries from Clissa, representing that the loss of such an important stronghold would be a blow to the Turks; and that, being nearly impregnable, it might be securely maintained against them, if properly provisioned and garrisoned. Accordingly, after various negotiations, and intrigues between the actors in the plot, Clissa was taken by surprise, in the name of the Emperor; but without any thought of the means necessary for its defence, against the Turkish forces, which were not long in appearing before the gates.

"Seeing the urgent danger, of the place falling again into the enemy's hands, if not speedily succoured, Signor di Lencovich, general of the Croatian border, marched to

relieve it in haste, with a tumultuous body, among whom were the Uscocs of Segna, and their Bishop*, (fuller of zeal than prudence, and as forgetful of the decorum of his office as the welfare of his body, which was fat and ponderous, and unfit for military exercises,) who, with the greater part of this ill-conducted multitude, was miserably butchered by the Turks. The general owed his safety to the speed of his horse, and many of the Uscocs escaped with him, from their fleetness of foot, and knowledge of the passes; after which rout, Clissa returned to the possession of the Turks.†

"At this same period, the numbers and crimes of the Uscocs increased fearfully; so that it became evident they would shortly depopulate Dalmatia, if the necessary measures for suppressing them were longer deferred; and these were therefore intrusted to Signor Almoro Tiepolo, with the title of 'Provveditore Generale,' and absolute power.

"Tiepolo had been a sailor from his earliest youth, and on many occasions had performed daring deeds against the corsairs; so that he was held in great terror by the Uscocs, who found that he always hung them up without mercy, whenever he laid hands on them. They feared therefore that now he had the power, he would follow them into their strongholds, and destroy them with fire and sword, as he had done at the taking of Scrissa‡, (on the Morlacca Canal, opposite the island of Pago,) where he hanged every soul he found within, beginning with the captain. And so he would certainly have served all these nests of robbers, had not the Republic interfered, for the reason before mentioned, of not provoking open

* De Dominis, uncle of the celebrated Archbishop of Spalato.

† See above, p. 351. ‡ See above, Vol. I. p. 77.

war with Austria, especially at that moment, when a quarrel was just breaking out between the Emperor and the Turk; for it did not appear in character with the piety and prudence of the Republic, to attack the House of Austria at the same time; and although the expense of maintaining a force, to guard their territories, would have been sufficient for their purpose in the event of actual hostilities, yet they preferred waiting, to see if the destruction of Scrissa would produce the effect of a warning.

"Pope Clement, and the most Catholic King, at the same time united, in unceasing complaints of the Uscocs, at the Imperial Court; when they actually had the audacity to send to Rome, a certain Father Cipriano Guidi Luchese, of the order of St. Dominic, a man of some learning, but more impudence, of much cunning, and of great vanity, to plead their cause. He pretended to justify to the world the actions of the Uscocs, exalting them as so many Maccabees, and attributing to them the safety of Italy; saying, that their depredations on the vessels of the Levant were committed out of pure zeal for the faith, because in them were conveyed arms and metals to the Turks, against the Bull in Cœna Domini, which he asserted to be read among them every year, and observed with entire faith; and he proposed entirely to prohibit the navigation of the Levant to Christians, because nothing was brought to Europe from thence but silks, and aromatics, which served only for luxury, while, on the contrary, to the East were shipped gold, silver, and arms; thus betraying his audacity, in talking of things which he did not understand.

"He affirmed, moreover, that the ravages on the Islands of the Republic, laid to the charge of the Uscocs, were in reality attributable, for the most part, to the crews of

the armed barks of the Venetians themselves, which he recommended his Holiness to ascertain, by applying to the Bishop of Arbe, and the other islands. The friar seasoned his discourse with other plausibly concocted lies, exalting the Uscocs to the stars; and, recalling the example of the countenance given them by Popes Alexander VI., and Gregory XIII., he demanded on their behalf succours of warlike stores, provisions, and paid cavalry and infantry, with which he promised they should perform miracles, secure the confines of Italy, and carry the war to the gates of Constantinople. The father disseminated his long memorials all over Rome, filling the ears of the cardinals, to the disgust of prudent men; but he finished the farce in the prisons of the Holy Office, where he was accommodated with apartments suitable to an ambassador of robbers, which for that matter were not new to him, since his exemplary habits had long before introduced him to life in dungeons. From this one, however, his ready wit helped him to escape, and returning to Croatia, he served the General in the capacities of Theologian, Confessor, and Councillor of War.

"The Venetians now began to hire in greater numbers the Albanian soldiers, whom the hope of large pay brought in flocks from the Turkish provinces. These Albanians served more effectively against the Uscocs, than the Croatians, who fought unwillingly, with the fear before their eyes of the corsairs' vengeance upon their houses and families; while such intense mutual hatred arose between Albanians and Uscocs, the moment blood had been shed, that they pursued each other to the death, with every wile and stratagem, often with circumstances of great cruelty.

"Tiepolo dying at Venice about this time, the Vene-

tians appointed, in his stead, Signor Giovanni Bembo, with orders to increase the Albanian troops, in order to spare the Dalmatians; and the campaign against the pirates began with fifteen gallies, thirty long barks, and eight hundred soldiers. Nothing however was attempted, except to protect the subjects of the Republic; for which purpose, gallies were posted to prevent the entrance of goods, and provisions, into Fiume and Trieste; to the end that, the government revenues being thus stopped by the cessation of trade, the Austrian princes might be induced to think of curing the cause of the calamity; but this not sufficing, Bembo resolved to surprise, and sack, Novi, a maritime fortress appertaining to the kingdom of Croatia, threatening to do the same to all other towns, which gave shelter or provisions to the Uscocs. This struck such terror into the Fiumani, that, seeing their trade in iron, wood, and cloth, utterly ruined, many abandoned their country; while some few attempted to put their weak walls in a state of defence, to repel an attack.

"The Archduke Ferdinand, a most excellent and religious prince, now out of his minority, feeling for the misfortunes of his subjects, and his own loss, and daily appealed to by the Pope's Nuncio, earnestly desired to strike at the root of the evil, by transporting the Uscocs far inland; where they might do good service, in defending the borders against the Turks, without the power of committing those piracies by sea, which were the origin of the mischief. But the Archduke in vain solicited the Imperial Court to take this necessary measure: he was answered, that he might do it himself, if he would be at the charge of the German garrison, which it was designed to place in Segna, instead of the Uscocs.

"This proposal did not please the Archduke, already

crippled with debts left him by his father, and embarrassed by the contumacy of his subjects, who refused him contributions, on account of the firm intention he had already manifested, to reduce all his subjects to the true Catholic faith, and exterminate the heretics, (despite the opposition of the nobility of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, which was based on certain concessions extorted from the Archduke Charles, of glorious memory;) and, finding himself on all sides in difficulties, he had recourse to the Pope's mediation, to persuade the Venetians to raise the strict blockade of Fiume and Trieste; that the inhabitants might not be entirely annihilated; and that his Highness might again enjoy the duties upon commerce, of which he stood so much in need, for the public weal, and the common security of Christendom.

"To conduct this negotiation, the Archduke sent to Venice Giuseppe Rabatta, Governor of Carniola; but as he did not bring powers to conclude any definite treaty, touching the Uscocs, he failed in his embassy; and while much time was thus wasted in vain talk, the Uscocs went on from bad to worse; and the Republic's endeavours to chastise them proved as successful, as the contest between the lion and the gnat, which the lordly beast vainly tries to shake off with paws and tail, and which buzzing in his ears nearly drives him mad. In like manner, it was astonishing with what daring rapidity the Uscocs committed their robberies, despite the strictest guard; and how cunningly they contrived to slip from between the fingers of their pursuers, when they had them in their clutches; seeming to have the sea, the wind, and the devil, always to befriend them.

"The most notable proof of this happened, when Bembo, finding them once out of their lair, in greater numbers

than they had ever before ventured to appear, amounting to 700, shut them up in the port of Rogósnizza, near Sebeníco. For though his galleys could not follow them, from the want of sufficient depth of water, it was evident they could not get out, without being a butt to his artillery, and a certain prey to his larger and more numerous vessels; nor could they hope to save themselves by land, as the Turks, warned of their situation, were posted at all the passes; so that, without wings, escape seemed impossible. Nevertheless, a strong sirocco wind arising in the night, which the vessels could with difficulty ride out, (not daring to move for fear of running foul of one another,) the Uscocs, (having first sold the booty they were conveying from the Turkish territories, dirt cheap, to the Morlacci,) with all sail set, actually passed right through the whole fleet, unobserved, amid the roaring of the waves, and the creaking of the cordage, under cover of the darkness. Nor was there a single ship which could follow them till daybreak, when the fury of the wind had lulled, by which time they had sailed far enough away to save themselves with ease, and thus wrested from Bembo's grasp the reward of all his labours, and the glory of having, at one blow, severed the heads of this formidable hydra.

"This disaster, added to increasing infirmities, induced him to obtain leave to retire; and the Signor Niccolo Donato was nominated to succeed him; but being unable, on account of other affairs, to leave Venice immediately, the Senate appointed Cavalier Antonio Giustiniano Captain of the Gulf, to fill his place, in the interim.

"Having seen the hoariest heads bend under this arduous task, he proceeded with circumspection and energy; taking, on one occasion, a troop of these robbers on the

island of Dravenico, near Träù, and sending seventeen of their heads to Venice, which, posted in the great square, were a grateful spectacle to all, who felt the evil consequences of these villains' daily crimes; and nobody recollected ever to have seen so many together, at one time, before.

"Donato soon after his arrival from Venice, having surveyed the country, prudently resolved to close two of the passages, from which the Uscocs used to issue forth, from the canal of Segna, to foray in Dalmatia, by means of two forts well furnished with troops and artillery; one on the island of Vegia *, called of St. Mark, which intercepted the communication between Fiume and Segna, and the other towards Gliuba, on the canal of the Morlacca. These two, being their most convenient outlets, were likewise the easiest to shut up, from the narrowness of the channel; and, although there remained to the pirates some others little used, yet, when chase was given them (as frequently happened) there were not so many passages to divide the pursuing forces; so that the Uscocs ran great risks, and were reduced to extreme desperation; especially as the Fort of St. Mark cut Segna off from communication with Fiume, where they used to get their provisions. As an impetuous torrent, checked in its current by a mighty dam, forces for itself some other outlet, so these men, urged by want, the sea being no longer safe to them, and little hope of plunder left on the already desolated Turkish border, turned in despair upon Istria (utterly regardless of the danger of bringing another war on the shoulders of Austria), entering walled towns, setting up the Imperial standard, and burning and plundering all over the country; so that the discretion, and wisdom, of Venice can never be sufficiently admired, in tolerating such

* Or Veglia.

outrages, without coming to open hostilities. She contented herself with providing for the safety of her subjects, by sending an adequate number of cavalry and infantry, under the command of Francesco Cornaro, a young gentleman, who, in the capacity of Provveditore of cavalry in Dalmatia, had recommended himself to the notice of the General Donato, by his mature judgment, and incorruptible integrity.

"He was ordered never to attack any town of the Archduke's, on those borders, but to chastise all evil-doers, and take ample revenge for all injuries, public and private; which he obeyed with such vigilance, that the Archducal subjects had always occasion to rue any success of the Uscocs.

"The Pope still hoping for a speedy accommodation *, from the fair speeches and promises made him at the Imperial Court, besought the Venetian Signory to continue their forbearance; although they had every reason to be tired of these vain delays, and of the great expense by which they consumed treasure, that would have sufficed for a just war; and, as the Ottoman army, at this conjuncture, was encamped under the fortress of Canisa, not far from the frontiers of Croatia, patience appeared more than ever necessary; seeing that, if any unfortunate occurrence happened, the world would have given them credit for intelligence with the Turks. Accordingly, Donato set himself to regulate the militia, and make fewer numbers suffice for the duty, in order to diminish the expense; and having thus settled affairs, with the Senate's permission,

* Of the conduct of Pope Gregory XIII. in the case of Danizzich, mentioned by Minucci (p. 33.), see above, Vol. I. p. 339.

he returned to his country, deputing his onerous charge to that vigilant and resolute captain, Filippo Pasqualigo; who set to work with such good will against the corsairs, that Dalmatia and Istria began to hope their troubles were nearly at an end; for whenever the Uscocs made a sortie, and committed any damage, the subjects of Austria paid for it with usury, and Pasqualigo sacked Ledenice, Moschenizze, Terzato, and Belai, all castles in the neighbourhood of Segna.

"The same happened in Istria, where the ever vigilant Cornaro avenged the slightest insult; filling all that frontier with terror, and enriching his soldiers with the spoil; in many cases recovering the goods of Venetian subjects, among which was the baggage of Marc Antonio Canale, stolen by the Uscocs on its way to Zara, where he had been appointed Count.

"The Archducal subjects of those parts, reduced to extremities, renewed their complaints to the Archduke, with threats of taking the remedy into their own hands; when a rebellion appearing inevitable, if their remonstrances continued to be unheeded, the Imperial Court at last deliberated on the expediency of committing the management of the negotiation to the Archduke. The necessary authority being forwarded to him, he, without loss of time, selected Giuseppe Rabatta, Governor of Carniola, who had distinguished himself there by the extirpation of heresy; and, contrary to the usage of the House of Austria, deputed him to be the only Commissioner, with ample power to accommodate ancient grievances, and with orders to give such satisfaction to the Venetian Government, as would induce them to cease retaliation, and raise the blockade of the maritime towns.

"Anxious to justify the Archduke's good opinion of

him, Rabatta set himself heartily to work at his imposed task; and, as a first step, entered into communication with Cornaro, assuring him that he might now safely withdraw his soldiers from the frontier; to which Cornaro replied, that whether the subjects of the Republic were in danger, or not, he would not stir a step; such being his positive orders, and that the Austrian ministers ought to give him all praise for having acted with such moderation, with so large a force at his disposal; while, on the other hand, esteeming old grievances well revenged, he should willingly abstain from giving fresh subject of offence.

"Rabatta was extremely content with Cornaro's reply, and knowing how much reason the Venetian Signory had to doubt the sincerity of negotiations, in which they had been so repeatedly deceived, he was resolved to smooth the way to a real, and solid, accommodation. The conditions were the same as before, except the two last articles, 'that the Uscocs should be removed from the sea-coast, to castles in the interior; and that those remaining in Segna should be prohibited from having any vessels, or boats whatever.' These had always, heretofore, been the stumbling-blocks to the Austrian Commissioners; who persuaded the Princes that, if the Uscocs were removed from Segna, either the Turks would seize upon it, or the Venetians, already possessors of the islands, and coasts, of Dalmatia, would make themselves masters of that port also; but such pretended suspicions only served as a cloak to their private passions; some being basely interested in a vile participation of the booty; and all actuated by a common dislike to the Venetian name, generated by past events; or by those natural motives, which render Republics odious to nations ruled by one alone, and monarchs suspicious of the government of the people.

"The Commissioner, accordingly, prepared to occupy Segna, where he had issued a proclamation, calling upon all the men of the city to be present at his entry, under pain of severe penalties. This did not at first give them much concern, remembering that other Commissioners had begun with a similar show of severity, and believing that this one would end the same way; they therefore agreed to unite all together, and hold their ground, with menaces to betray the frontier,—means which, in similar circumstances, had served them to escape capital punishment. However, when the time of the Commissioner's coming drew nigh, hearing the report of his stern and resolute character, about sixty of them withdrew to the mountains, hoping to return when the first fury of the storm had passed; and probably counselled to do so by Daniel Barbo, Captain of Segna, the great upholder of the Uscocs, and an enemy of Rabatta.

"The Commissioner entering Segna, shortly afterwards, with 1500 arquebusiers, found that the departure of these few had intimidated the others, who, not amounting to more than 300, were panic-struck, when they saw all hope of flight cut off by the strict guard of the gates, and heard the rigorous proclamations, which ordered every one to lay down his arms under pain of death. They were also commanded, at the expiration of two days, to appear before the Commissioner, to answer whether they were willing faithfully, and quietly, to serve the House of Austria, and voluntarily to ask pardon for past offences; while all such as rendered themselves amenable to justice were threatened with rigorous punishment.

"These determined announcements struck terror into every heart; and nothing appeared so strange as to be forced to give up their arms; — a thing which had never

before been witnessed at Segna. Nor was the Commissioner to be moved from his purpose by the arguments of Barbo, the Captain of the city; and espying one day an Uscoc in church, with an axe in his hand, he declared that, had it not been for the respect due to the holy place, he would have had him cut to pieces immediately; which alarmed the band so much, that they begged him to nominate the delinquents destined for punishment, without more ado, that the remainder might live in peace.

"That same day being appointed for those, who chose to notify their submission to the House of Austria, to present themselves humbly, and unarmed, at the castle,—the Commissioner caused to be detained prisoners, Martino, Count of Possidaria; who, for love of gain, had become a chief of assassins, despite his noble blood, and the fame of his ancestors, and Marco Marchetich, Voivoda of Ledinizze, a castle belonging to Segna. He had designed, at the same time, to imprison George Maslarda, a Ragusan, a deeper villain than any there. The Commissioner sent to seize him in the middle of the night; when he, conscious of a thousand unheard-of crimes,—especially, after the pillage of the frigate, carrying the Count of Zara's furniture, of having shut down the sailors between decks, and sent the vessel off to sea, all sail set, without helm, to the mercy of the winds and waves,—armed himself for resistance, but was forestalled by Edward Locatello, Captain of the militia of Goritz, who, thrusting him right through with his rapier, left him to be cut to pieces by the soldiers.

"Maslarda was one of the most renowned of the robber chiefs, and had the largest retinue; nor would his death have happened without some tumult, if the people had not been stupified by fear.

"The Commissioner understanding this, and, in order to

accumulate terror upon terror, had Possidaria and Marchetich hung the same night, on the castle walls; which spectacle, next morning, finished the subjugation of the city, nobody holding his life secure; and the gates being shut, and the streets guarded by foreign militia, none dared to venture out of their houses, or sleep tranquilly in their beds; although the Commissioner intimated that, when all the chiefs were given up, and all the booty restored, which had been latterly taken in some vessels belonging to the Ecclesiastical States (about which the Pope made a great noise), the road to pardon would not be shut to the rest. By this artifice he got into his hands Moretto, a famous captain, with some of his companions, whom the others took by stratagem, and gave up, in the hope that their heads would ransom many lives.

"The Commissioner having, at his first arrival, begged the Venetian General to send some envoy to reside near him, as an eye-witness of what he did, and to prove his sincerity in the cause, the General deputed to this post the prudent and experienced Vettor Barbaro, his secretary. . . . Barbaro had his first interview with the Commissioner in the presence of Marc Antonio, the new Bishop of Segna, of the noble family of De Dominis of Arbe, and a confidential friend of the Venetian Signory; a Prelate whose counsels guided every thing, having in the seminaries of the Jesuit Fathers acquired profound science, which, accompanied with practical knowledge of worldly affairs, and zeal for the good of his country, had recommended him to the House of Austria, and to Rabatta.

"In this conversation, Barbaro, after the first compliments of courtesy, eloquently recounted the crimes of the Uscocs, their assassinations, the cruel tortures they com-

mitted, (treating even dead bodies with contumely, drinking their blood, and flaying them to make leather of their skins;) the rapes, the ravishing of maidens, and their endless robberies, both by sea and land; and concluded by expressing the confident expectation, now entertained by General Pasqualigo, and all honest men, of seeing at last the bridle put into their mouths by such a skilful, and valiant, hand.

"The Commissioner, in reply, suggested that these excesses had been exaggerated by the Venetians, ever ready to lay the blame of every crime, that was committed, on the Uscocs, whom he nevertheless confessed were worthy of severe chastisement; and then, like a frank and open-hearted cavalier, he began to unfold the copy of his instructions, saying that he had orders, first, to exterminate the Pirate Captains; secondly, to expel from Segna all the Dalmatians, and other subjects of the Republic, only leaving in Segna a hundred of the least turbulent, and transporting the others inland, to defend the frontier fortresses; and, lastly, to regulate the use of armed vessels, which were not to leave the port, without express permission from the General of Croatia.

"The Secretary approved of all the articles but the last, saying, that the Republic could never consent to give the General of Croatia any power to license vessels, within the limits of their entire, and inviolate, jurisdiction of the sea: to which the Commissioner replied;—and this rock of offence bid fair to break off the negotiation, had not the Bishop of Segna persuaded Rabatta to defer the question, to a more convenient opportunity; since it had been well aired already, between the Venetians and Austrians, on divers occasions. So it was agreed that the use of armed

barks should be simply prohibited to the Uscocs; and they proceeded to the other clauses.

"The Venetian Secretary, watchful of every advantage, had seen, from the first, that Rabatta was anxious to terminate the affair; he therefore became more and more difficult to satisfy, and complained that only poor artisans were given up to him, while the real evil-doers were allowed opportunity to fly; when the Commissioner, finding, despite all his diligence, how difficult it was to catch those who had escaped to the mountain, and, annoyed at the escape of five Dalmatians, particularly demanded by the Venetian General, would have hanged two captains, to whose negligence, or complicity, he ascribed their flight; had not their relations gone out to the mountains, and brought back the ringleader, severely wounded; who was forthwith hanged, half dead; the others, shortly afterwards, sharing the same fate.

"In Venice these proceedings were learnt with exceeding gratification; and the Senators expressed to Rossi, resident secretary for his Imperial Majesty, their approbation of the Commissioner's resolution, in so effectually chastising those free-booters. The Commissioner, accordingly, complained to Barbaro, that every body was satisfied with the progress of affairs but himself; and the inhabitants of Segna, judging that the Secretary prompted Rabatta to greater rigour, resolved to propitiate him with a general embassy, headed by the Bishop in person; seconding their entreaties with the gift of two fine carpets, which were neither *woven* in Segna, nor *purchased* elsewhere. The Secretary, in few words, explained that, as a simple agent, he had no power to soften his commission, although he had favoured them as much as he could; he considered himself, likewise, insulted by the offer of the carpets; but

consented to overlook it, as a custom of a barbarous country, in use among the Turks; though the Uscocs had perhaps learnt it elsewhere.

"The Commissioner then deliberated upon the transfer of the greater part of the Uscocs inland; together with such of the citizens, as were known to be freebooters; and, to this end, he caused a minute report to be drawn up of all the inhabitants, by the aid of the Bishop, and others acquainted with the city, especially Captain Barbo, who ought best to have known the character and deeds of each individual. But Barbo, all of a sudden, began to oppose this proceeding; protesting that he neither could, nor would, undertake to defend the place, with the small garrison about to be left in it; whereupon the Commissioner, perceiving that Barbo's opposition might give rise to some disturbance among the soldiery, who might suspect they were to be thus divided, in order to be more easily destroyed, hinted to him that his absence would be desirable, as there would be no difficulty in finding a commander, to defend the place for his Imperial Majesty. So Barbo, under pretence that his affairs called him to Court, took his departure; after which the transportation was effected, without further difficulty, and so well managed that none were expelled by force, and each was free to go where he pleased, out of the country. Two hundred soldiers and their families were quietly transferred to Ottossaz, Brigne, Prozar, and Borlogh, castles on the frontier, excellently situated for defence, as for incursions on the Turks, especially when, with a little industry, and some small expense, they should be better fortified.

"Those who were to go appeared, one morning, in the church, the Commissioner being present; and, after mass, were blessed by the Bishop, with their arms and banners;

which ceremony was not approved by some, who thought that public robbers, excommunicated, and cursed by Papal Bulls, were not worthy of such benedictions. The Commissioner then provided them with provisions, and pay in advance, with a warning never to set foot again in Segna, under pain of death. This seemed to finish the affair; and the Commissioner accordingly begged that the fortresses of Gliuba and St. Mark should be dismantled; which Pasqualigo replied was a matter for the Senate's deliberation; meanwhile he had, on his own authority, ordered that all vessels should now pass unquestioned, which was enough at present to ensure free navigation.

"In spite of Barbo's bad offices at the Imperial Court, the Commissioner's authority was renewed, with the additional post of Governor of Segna, vacant by Barbo's desertion. But, before long, his enemies found food for their malice, because the Venetian Signory, as was their courteous custom, had presented to him a heavy chain of 5000, or 6000, ducats; which, nevertheless, he had refused to accept, without previously asking permission of his master, at the same time offering to apply it to the public service, as he had already done a large sum of his own money, in the Turkish war. The Venetians had presented him, besides, with a pleasure-barge, splendidly fitted up; which would have been of the greatest convenience to him, as Governor of Segna, in going about the canals to visit the various islands; and these trifling courtesies, though unequal to the deserts of such a noble cavalier, served as materials to defame, and disgrace, him with the Princes; and Barbo, backed by the heretic ministers, special instruments of the devil, began to accuse him of being corrupted by the Venetian Signory, to betray the House of Austria, and of hanging many brave men, which would

compel others, in despair, to take service with the Turk, to the manifest peril of the whole frontier.

"With such-like malicious tales they filled the ears of the excellent young Archduke Ferdinand; taking advantage of the dislike borne by the Archduchess, his mother, to Rabatta, on account of his opposition to the marriage of the Archduke with her niece, the daughter of the Duke of Bavaria; when it was said that Rabatta had spread the report, that the intended bride was infected with leprosy, which being proved false, the marriage took place: though Rabatta found it difficult to clear himself, from the imputation of having originated the slander; and his detractors well understood how to set their nails, to open afresh this recently-closed wound, in the minds of the mother and son.

"The Commissioner, being warned by his friends of the danger he ran, suddenly resolved to go to Gratz, and defend his character; but, on his arrival at Court, he soon became sensible of the harm that had been done him; being commanded to return to his post, with reproaches for having left it without leave. He however contrived, at length, to procure an interview with the Prince, and his Serene Mother; in which he justified his conduct, with so much eloquence, that they admitted him again to their good graces; and, as a visible sign of favour, appointed him to receive, on the frontier, the Pope's nephew, who, with his army, was then about to land at Trieste, to act against the Turks; a task fulfilled by Rabatta to the great satisfaction of the Italian Princes; so that, returning in triumph to Segna, the highest honours, even the generalship of Croatia, appeared within his reach.

"But, ere long, the diabolical malice of the heretics raised new intrigues against him, and prompted the family

of the Count of Possidaria to prosecute him, for the death of their relative; little to their honour, indeed, as they ought to have been ashamed that a public assassin should proceed from their noble blood; and these rumours, circulated in Segna, served to diminish the awe of the Uscocs for the Commissioner; who also found himself greatly embarrassed, for want of money to pay the garrison.

"At this time it happened, that the Princes commanded him to despatch to their aid, at the camp before Camissa, as many troops as he could muster, which he considered a favourable opportunity for getting rid of all the unquiet spirits; and, collecting together in a body the most unruly, he gave them for captain a certain Giurissa; who, from a husbandman, had turned robber, and become renowned for his immense strength of body, and ferocity of soul. He had also carried off a maiden of gentle birth, from the island of Zara; and, in the face of all law, human and divine, had made her his wife. The same Giurissa had been urgently demanded by the Venetians, alive or dead; but on account of the great esteem, in which he was held by the Princes, and the soldiers, for his brutality, which they called valour, Rabatta had never dared to lay hold of him; he reckoned now, however, that either his daring in this campaign would cost him his life, or that, after distinguishing himself in honourable warfare, he would disdain to return to the life of a pirate.

"Giurissa departed, well pleased with the service, and with the pay the Commissioner had advanced him, and full of the valiant deeds, by which he and his band of ruffians were to signalise themselves; but when he reached Carlistot, some of Rabatta's enemies managed to dissuade him from advancing; insinuating, that he had been despatched to meet certain death; that Rabatta would never slake

his thirst for Uscoc blood; and that, the Princes being at last convinced, there was no risk of displeasing them by any insult, or disobedience, towards the Commissioner.

"Giurissa, upon this, straightway returned with his men to Segna; and Rabatta could do no more than watch for a better opportunity; which happening soon after, he contrived to sieze, and imprison, Giurissa, in one of the tower dungeons, firmly resolved to punish him as he deserved, in spite of the remonstrances, and even threats, of his comrades; at the same time that he fortified himself in the lower castle, with a small garrison of Germans. But the Uscocs, having lost the awe they entertained at first for his name, and being persuaded (whether truly or falsely), that his death would not displease the Princes, entered into a nefarious plot, infuriating their evil passions by copious libations of brandy, which, for that purpose, was brought into the great square; and after attempting, without success, to force the castle gates, they burst them open with artillery.

"The Commissioner, knowing that the savage ferocity of these villains would not be baulked of their object, was obliged to liberate Giurissa, upon condition (more for the sake of saving appearances, than with any hope of its being kept,) that he should ransom himself, by giving up another chief as his surety; but this surrender failing to appease their fury, they murdered the Germans on guard, and rushed into the chamber, where the Commissioner was sitting, with a Florentine gentleman, his relation, who had come to visit him from the camp at Canissa. After a brave defence against overpowering numbers, he was at last felled to the ground; and these barbarians, severing his head from the body, insulted it with a thousand indignities, and exposed it in the square to the gaze of the populace,

whom they obliged to swear an oath of participation in the deed. Next morning, the corpse was set up in the church, where it is reported that the women, to show that they were not less savage than their husbands, after the most horrible imprecations, lapped up with their tongues the blood, which issued from its gaping wounds.

"Such was the end of this brave, and noble, cavalier; and the rumour soon spreading through Dalmatia and Italy caused practical men to apprehend, that the Uscocs, despairing of pardon, after such an enormous crime, would finish by betraying the place to the Turks. Finding that they remained quiet, governing themselves after their own fashion, while waiting the appointment of a new Captain from the Emperor, (to whom they had sent an account of their bloody deed, justifying themselves with foul calumnies against the dead,) men marvelled how the house of Austria would judge fit to avenge the detestable murder of a minister of such high rank; and the flagrant delay of justice gave rise to much speculation on the secrets of Princes; some believing that the death of Rabatta took place by Imperial order, or at least with Imperial consent, others that punishment was only deferred, till the criminals were safe in the net. But when it was seen, shortly afterwards, that the Captaincy was conferred on Daniel Francol, of Trieste, a declared enemy of the deceased Rabatta, and the same who had counselled Giurissa to return from Carlistot, suspicions and murmurs increased; especially when Francol entered Segna unarmed, without an opposing voice, and admitted Giurissa to his table and intimacy.

"Yet, unaccountable as this may seem, none who are acquainted with the clemency, justice, and integrity * of

* Minucci often indulges in a little sly sarcasm.

Austria, can credit that Rudolph countenanced the assassination of a faithful servant, on a bare unproved accusation. However, after the death of the unfortunate Rabatta, the Uscocs who had been translated to the inland fortresses, immediately returned to their old nest; and although they notified to the Venetian General that they meant to observe the treaty, Pasqualigo, who had no great faith in their promises, took care to guard the passes well, with gallies and armed barks; but finding, for some months, that no movement was attempted, returned to Venice, proud of having concluded such an intricate negotiation. Nevertheless, experienced men, who doubted its being possible for the Uscocs to live at Segna without piracy, on slender and irregular pay, judged that the only efficacious remedy was to remove them inland; and as the expense of fortifying those castles was always the objection urged by the Archducal Council, the Bishop of Segna (that profoundly learned and prudent prelate) proposed to farm to the Venetian Signory, the forest around Segna, abounding in pines, suited for masts and yards of vessels, and full also of beech, of which wood alone are made oars for gallies, and to obtain from them an advance of 50,000 ducats, which would serve to fortify the places above mentioned.

"The idea was extremely opportune; for the forests abound in material for those purposes, and are so close to the sea that, with little difficulty or expense, by inclined ways used in ancient times, they could be brought to the water's edge for embarkation: which advantages being one day exaggerated by the Commissioner to the Secretary Barbo, saying that 'this was a real treasure,' the other replied, 'True, but a treasure that will find a market nowhere but in Venice.' Had the Austrians pru-

dently considered this answer, they would not have thrown so many obstacles in the way of the bargain; for although the forests might be convenient, they are in no way necessary, to the Venetians, however willing they might be to pay more than the worth of the wood, for the sake of getting rid of the Uscocs . . . . . whereas, now it is much to be feared, that in a little time, those crimes will be renewed, which are destined, one day perhaps, to be expiated with bitter tears, and the loss of many Christian souls; which may it please God to inspire Christian Princes, with wisdom, to avert; that others may not have occasion to write a yet more woful, and lamentable, continuation to this History; which finishes, with but faint hope of peace and quietness, this 1st of November, 1602."

Continuation by Fra Paolo, and another Writer.

* * * * * "No sooner had the rigour of the coast guard abated, after the departure of Pasqualigo, (narrated by the Archbishop*), than the Uscocs built ten large barks, and returned to their old habits, taking care at first to confine their depredations to the Turks; and if they were followed by the gallies on guard, they contrived a cunning way of escape, by means of a large hole, stopped with a plug, at the bottom of all their boats, whereby they used to sink them under water, whenever they espied the Venetians in pursuit, taking to the woods themselves, till the danger was past. The negotiation about the forests (although, after Rabatta's death, it had languished) was still kept alive, and now revived again, in consequence of these fresh subjects of complaint; but the Imperialists having advanced their demand another 200 *scudi*, the whole bargain failed, and was never again renewed.

* Minucci, Archbishop of Zara.

"The Turks, enraged by the Uscocs' perpetual forays, began at last to send out armed caicques; which would soon have cleared the sea of the corsairs, and have got rid of one evil to replace it with a worse, had not the Venetians checked it in the bud, by representing to the Porte, the treaty by which the Republic guaranteed to keep the Uscocs in order, and by renewing the promise to hold the coast well guarded. But hardly was this difficulty surmounted, when a more serious quarrel arose, out of an expedition of 600 Uscocs, led by Giurissa, who sailed towards Sebenico, entered the canal, and leaving 100 men to guard their boats, attacked the Turkish city of Scardona by night; and finding the place totally unguarded, murdered those who attempted a hasty defence, made an immense booty, and carried off 300 slaves. They then set fire to the town, and were back again by daylight in the canal; where, taking the boats of the Sebenzani (which they afterwards sank) as well as their own, they sent by land what they could not carry by sea, and all got safe back to Segna.

"The Turks accused the Sebenzani of being accomplices in this affair; which was only accommodated, after much trouble, on ascertaining that the Scardonesi had their own negligence, in not keeping guard, to blame for their misfortunes, and that the Sebenzani had no part in the occurrence.

"It was no easy task for the Venetian Admiral to defend 300 miles of coast, and so many islands, against such daring, and active, robbers. It happened, in 1606, that while the Caterina frigate, having on board letters from the Doge, and 6000 ducats of public money, besides 4000 in private commerce, and other valuables, was in the harbour of Vestria, near Rovigno, in Istria, three boats

full of these rascals boarded her, and carried off, not only the whole of the cargo, but, what was worse, the letters of state; and after pillaging some other small vessels, with circumstances of great barbarity, divided the booty amongst the 150, of which the party consisted. The Admiral Contarini, enraged at this public affront, blocked up the straits of Fiume, Bucari, and Segna, to force the inhabitants of those places to leave off receiving the plunder, and befriending the robbers; which produced the usual effect: Baron Khisli, General of Croatia, giving orders that four of the chiefs should be imprisoned, one hanged, and restitution made of the public money to an official sent to receive it, as the only condition of pardon to the rest.

"In the beginning of the year 1607, an Imperial mandate was posted in the Piazza, and on all the gates of Segna, commanding the Uscocs to desist from all hostilities against the Turks; and, accordingly, the captain ordered the boats to be drawn on shore, and their rigging and naval stores to be laid up in the Arsenal. These tidings of peace spread great consternation among the Uscocs, who despatched one of their Voivodas to the Imperial court, to represent the impossibility of living at Segna without piracy, and to pray that the taxes levied on certain Morlacci villages might be assigned for their maintenance; which was at first granted, but afterwards rescinded. Whereupon, the Austrian ministers received intelligence, that some of their chiefs, in disgust, had entered into secret negotiations with the Turks; and Commissioners were sent to inquire into these allegations; who finding them true, determined to banish Giurissa, and others of the most guilty, from the Austrian States, under pain of death.

"The outlaws took to their boats, and pursued their

trade with great success, making the island of Cherso head-quarters; and after going up the river Carino, into the Turkish territory, killing and burning as they went, and carrying off a great booty, in returning towards Istria, they entered Pola through divers holes in the wall, and gathered immense plunder; when the inhabitants recovering from their panic, and flying to arms, the robbers were pursued. Albeit, they got safe off, though forced to leave behind great part of the spoil, and escaped into the forests near Segna, where they divided their gains; and their wives, under pretence of going out to see their husbands, carried it safe into the city.

"Whether the Imperial ordinance for their banishment was real, or a pretence, certain it is, that, six months after its promulgation, Giurissa and his troop were restored to the good graces of the General of Croatia, and returned publicly to Segna; and the inhabitants of Pola obtained no satisfaction for the injuries inflicted upon them.

"The Uscocs, after this, remained for a few months quiet; till discontented at the treaty with the Turks, some gave ear to a person, who came to Segna, with a commission to enlist them, for the service of the Duke of Tuscany. Many of the older soldiers, who did not like to change their country, and leave Dalmatia, offered themselves to the Republic, either by sea or land, in a body or divided, as best pleased the Signory, promising to give up their piratical habits, and keep strict discipline. They spoke very fairly; but their actions belied their words, and the proposition ended in smoke; because two of their chiefs, with their followers, entered the port of Torcula, in the island of Liesina; attacked a frigate which had on board 7000 ducats, besides merchandise; and sinking all the fishermen's boats in the harbour, as well as their own, to

prevent pursuit, took possession of the vessel; and then sailing to about a mile from Segna, landed at their accustomed place, and divided the booty.

"Giurissa, however, and his troop of eighty, concluded an agreement with the Grand Duke of Tuscany; and, at the same time, the Viceroy of Naples engaged 200 more, with ample promises of pay, and assignment of lands. This would perhaps have been the best way of getting rid of the pirates, had not the Archduke, fearing lest the town should be deserted, prohibited the Governor from permitting any more to leave it, for foreign service; forgetting that, only the year before, he had pledged his princely word, either to pay them their arrears, or allow them to go where they pleased. Therefore, concluding this behaviour of their Prince to be full license for piracy, they carried on their robberies with greater audacity than ever, and built three large barks, fifty feet in length, for Giurissa, and two other chiefs; while the Governors of Segna pretended they had no power to help these expeditions; although they could easily have prevented free exit from, and ingress to, the city, and seized the plunder brought home to their houses.

"The Uscocs did not always succeed in escaping from the Venetian fleet, and sometimes experienced severe checks, in the capture, and death, of an occasional troop. A ridiculous accident occurred in one of their sorties, about this time. Having boarded a vessel, bound from Lanciano to Venice, and thinking they had made an important prize, they took it up to Segna to divide the spoil; when finding the whole cargo to consist of honey and manna, they were so vexed at being disappointed of more valuable booty, that they devoured immense quantities, imagining it to be confectionery; to the great consternation of their

physician in Segna, who expected them to be all ill on his hands, in consequence. . . . .

"Soon after this, a battle took place, between some Albanian barks and the Uscocs, in which the pirates were worsted, and obliged to fly, leaving prisoner Giorgio Milansicich, captain of the castle of Brigne, an artful man, who, for his numerous crimes, merited a thousand deaths, and whom the Uscocs were especially anxious to rescue, from the close confinement in which he was kept. With this view they resolved to attempt the capture of some important personage, in order to effect his ransom; and being informed by their spies, that Girolamo Molino, the Rettore of Cattaro, was returning in a frigate from that place, they were delighted at the idea of taking a Venetian magistrate; and sailing to meet the vessel, they attacked it, but found nothing except the cargo; the Provveditore having, by good luck, gone on shore. Furious at being thus cheated of their hopes, and still determined to lay hold of a Venetian public minister, they put about, and directed their course to Rovigno, in Istria, intending to seize the Podestà of that district; and on his saving himself by flight, they attacked some vessels in the harbour, waiting a wind for Venice, and murdered the merchants and sailors on board. And now, more enraged than ever at this second failure, they returned with all speed, and landed on the island of Veglia; where Girolamo Marcello, Provveditore of the island, happening to be out on a visit in the country, they made him prisoner, together with his suite, and conveyed them with every indignity, and insult, to certain caverns near Segna.

"No sooner had the Archduke heard of the Provveditore of Veglia's imprisonment in those dark caves, than he sent Giacomo Cesglin expressly to Segna, who

published a severe edict, commanding his immediate release; which the Uscocs having obeyed, they took the Provveditore out of the cavern, and conducted him to Segna; where he was courteously received by the Commissioner, who assured him the Archduke would speedily despatch other officials to bring his captors to justice. The rapidity with which his Highness's orders were executed on this occasion, and the prompt obedience of the Uscocs, showed that the Archducal ministers knew how to make him obeyed when they chose; and that the Uscocs, though steeped in crime, were, at all events, not rebels to their Prince, when he was determined to exercise his authority.

"While the Provveditore was in prison, the Venetians no longer contented themselves with the simple defence of their coast, but sought every means of retaliation, and some Venetian soldiers penetrated within eight miles of Segna, and burnt certain mills belonging to the city; whereupon the Uscocs, in revenge, marched by land into Istria, setting fire to the villas, barns, and farm houses, and carrying off a great booty of flocks and herds; which caused the Venetian militia to make reprisals upon the castle of Buglion, in the country of Pisino.

"But when the news of the liberation of the Provveditore arrived at Venice, as if this sufficed to cover all the former sins of the Uscocs, the Captain of Fiume magnified the promptitude of the Archduke, and required that it should be responded to, by the liberation of the Uscoc prisoners, and the raising of the blockade of the Austrian seaports; and it is impossible to describe the arts employed by this minister, during the three months he remained at Venice, to justify the conduct of his

government, and give a false representation of the history of the Uscocs at Segna.

"However, in 1613, the Emperor, perceiving that the Venetians were determined never to open the ports, until measures had been taken to put an effectual stop to piracy, after various conferences and deliberations, conveyed to the Venetian ambassador his resolution to satisfy all demands, if the Republic would correspond, by raising the blockade of the maritime towns, and surrender the prisoners; giving his written promise in Italian to that effect.

"The intelligence was gladly received at Venice, and the Venetian Senate proceeded faithfully to execute their part of the treaty; but vainly waited in expectation of its fulfilment on the other side.

"Money to pay the garrison being, as usual, not forthcoming, the Uscocs began by degrees to return to their predatory habits; fugitives gradually dropped in, one by one; and at last, emboldened by various small forays, they combined to make a grand sortie in the holy week; and, according to custom, even the old men and widows, the monks and nuns, contributed stores of gunpowder, provisions, and money. They accordingly sallied forth, on the 7th of April, the day of our Saviour's resurrection, to the number of 400, in ten boats.

"Sailing one hundred and eighty miles along the coast, they landed at Crepano, in the district of Sebenico, which they crossed to the Turkish territory, carrying off men, animals, and money, and spreading the rumour, as they went, that they were in league with the Venetians, to spoil the Turks.

"After that, they descended upon Macarsca and Narenta, and penetrating through the country of the Ragu-

sans, sacked the town of Trebigne *, the largest and richest in the environs of Castel Novo; in which foray, lasting as it did several days, they reaped immense booty; because, owing to the treaty, and the general belief that no more danger was to be apprehended from the Uscocs, the Turks were off their guard.

"Nothing could persuade the Osmanlis, that the Venetians were not accomplices in the attack; and the Pasha of Bosnia having come to high words with the Venetian General, great fears were entertained, that this occurrence would bring on an open rupture with the Porte.

"The General, accordingly, having ordered eleven armed gallies of Albanians to scour the seas, in search of the pirates, it so happened that they fell in with some of the Uscoc barks, conveying booty and prisoners to Segna, off the Cape of Liesina; when a fierce combat took place, which lasted till night. The Uscocs were worsted, with two of their barques taken, and sixty men killed, and among them their great chief Nicolo Craglianovich, while the Albanians had only eight killed, and nineteen wounded.

"The remainder of the pirates fled, full of rage, and breathing vengeance.

"Shortly afterwards, Christofero Veniero, on his way from Istria, to join the General, having no intimation of the recent battle at the Cape of Liesina, anchored at night in the port of Mandre, in the island of Pago; which being immediately made known to the Uscocs, by their spies, they collected in large numbers, on the mountain above the harbour, and next morning six of their boats attacked his galley by sea, while those on

* See above, Vol. I. p. 340.

land poured down a murderous fire from the rocks above; and, having speedily succeeded in obtaining possession of the ship, they forced those of the crew who survived, with cruel blows, to walk the plank into the sea. Then sailing the galley to Segna, during the voyage, they hewed off with a hatchet the heads of the Cavalier Lucretio Gravise, a gentleman of Capo d'Istria, and his brother, and nephew, passengers in the vessel, and despoiled of their jewels and vestments Paula Strasolde, his wife, and her attendants; reserving Veniero alive, till they got under the Morlacca, a little way from Segna, where they sealed their barbarities by beheading him also with a hatchet; and after mutilating his body, threw it into the sea. His head they then served up for dinner, together with his heart; in the warm blood of which they all dipped their bread, according to the belief among them, that such participation in an enemy's blood is a sure pledge of mutual fidelity, and a spell binding them together in one common fate.

"Having completed their fiend-like rites, they brought the galley to Segna, divided the booty and ammunition, released the galley slaves, and planted the artillery on the walls of the city." * * *

This brutal outrage roused the indignation of the Venetians; and the Austrians having listened coldly to their demands for vengeance, a war ensued in Friuli; which lasted three years, and was at last terminated, through the mediation of France, by a treaty, ratified at Madrid; which stipulated the final dispersion of the Uscocs, and the destruction of their flotilla.

They were therefore removed from Segna, into the interior of Croatia; where the Archduke Ferdinand gave them a new abode, in the neighbourhood of Carlstadt.

APPENDIX.

(A.)

HISTORY OF DALMATIA UNDER THE ROMANS.

I HAVE already given an account of the Slavonians, and of their settlement in Dalmatia, in the seventh century. From that period the history of the modern Dalmatians and Illyrians properly begins; but though not immediately related to the ancient inhabitants of the country, the events that preceded their arrival ought not to be omitted; and the monuments that remain require some notice of the people who possessed Illyria, when it was first conquered by the Romans, and during the subsequent period when it formed part of the empire.

The Liburnians, who occupied the northern part, were a very ancient people. They had, at a most remote period, many possessions, even in Italy; and Livy says that, in his time, the town of Truentum still belonged to them.* They were always renowned for their naval skill; they possessed the islands of Dalmatia, and had numerous colonies on the Adriatic coast; and the excellence of the Liburnian light gallies was acknowledged by the Romans and the Greeks. It was with ships of that construction, that, at Actium, Augustus defeated the large vessels of Antony†;

* Plin. iii. 13, 14.

† Ibis Liburnis inter alta navium,
Amice, propugnacula.—HOR. *Epod.* i. 1. 1.

and Dalmatian writers have conjectured, not without some show of probability, that the Romans were indebted to the aid of the Liburnians, for their first naval victory over the Carthaginians. The mention of Liburnian ships, by a Roman historian, has been thought to strengthen this conjecture; and though the remark of Eutropius * may only refer to their *form*, it is not too much to suppose that both the Liburnian gallies, and sailors, may have aided the nautical inexperience of the Romans, on that occasion; and the employment of the ships of Issa † by the Romans, in the second Macedonian war ‡, shows how probable it is that they were also used against the Carthaginians, when the Roman fleet was in its infancy. For of all the fabrications which have led to the suggestion of *Roma Mendacior*, for the "*Græcia Mendax*" of Juvenal, none is more striking than that, which attributes the creation of the Roman fleet to the accidental capture of a stranded Punic ship, that served as a model for their quinqueremes, and to the inland training of the crews adopted by Duilius §; and there is little doubt that the Romans were indebted to others, more skilled in naval tactics, for their first successes against the Carthaginian fleets.

Some suppose the Liburnians to have been a colony from Asia; who obtained possession of that portion of Illyria, which from them borrowed the name of Liburnia; and many conjectures have been offered respecting their origin.

* "Primum Romani C. Duillio et Cn. Cornelio Asina Coss. in mari dimicarunt, paratis navibus rostratis, quas Liburnas vocant." — EUTR. lib. ii.

† Now Lissa.

‡ Liv. Dec. iv. lib. i.

§ See Polybius.

The first important conquest of this coast, mentioned in history, is that of the Gauls, who overran the country in the time of Tarquinius Priscus, about the year, B.C. 600. Many of the Liburnians fled to the islands; some became mixed with the conquerors; and a new kingdom was founded by the Gauls, under the name of Illyria. Its capital was Scodra, the modern Scutari of Albania; and their rule extended over Carnia and Istria, and thence into northern Macedonia. B. C. 600.

In 359 B.C., Philip, the father of Alexander, wrested the latter portion of their empire from the Illyrians *, defeated their King Bardyles, and confined the limits of their rule to the Lichnites lake †; after which, various events occurred, during the reigns of his successors, mostly connected with the history of Epirus and Macedonia, until the Romans began to interfere in the affairs of Illyria. B. C. 359.

The first complaint preferred by the Romans was the frequent occurrence of piracies; to which succeeded disputes relative ‡ to the city of Epidamnus § and the islands of Corcyra, Pharos, and Issa. ‖ Agron, King of Illyria ¶, having besieged the island of Issa, the inhabitants applied to Rome for protection, and a message was sent by the Romans to Agron, requiring him to desist from molesting the friends of the Republic. In the mean time (B.C. 232.)

* Diodorus, xvi.

† The Lychnidus of Livy, Dec. iii. 7.

‡ Polybius, Dion, and Appian.

§ By the Romans called Dyrrachium, now Durazzo.

‖ Or Essos, now Lissa.

¶ The kings of Illyria were Bardyles, Clitus, Pleurates I., Agron, Pineus, Pleurates II., and Gentius.

Agron died, and Teuta*, his widow, having succeeded to the throne, resolved on pressing the siege of Issa, and even encouraged the piracies of Illyrian ships on the Italian traders. The Roman ambassadors, on their arrival, represented to the Queen the necessity of abstaining from hostilities against Issa; but such was the impetuosity of her character, inflamed too by the pride of recent successes in Epirus, that heedless of the rights of nations, and the power of Rome, she put one of the ambassadors to death, for venturing to assert the rights, and threatening her with the vengeance, of Rome.

This brought on the first Illyrian war, which ended in the defeat of the Illyrians, the capture of Corcyra, Pharos, and Apollonia, the liberation of Issa and Dyrrachium, and the flight of Teuta to Rhizone †; where she was forced to sue for peace the following year. The terms were hard; but she had deserved them. She was obliged to pay an annual tribute to Rome; she was not to send more than two ships beyond Issa, and those unarmed; and Illyria was divided into four parts: of which one was left to Teuta; another was given to Demetrius Pharius; the third was taken by the Romans; and the fourth was made free, under the protection, or friendship, of Rome.

B.C. 229.

This Demetrius had been made Governor of his native island, Pharos ‡, by Agron; and afterwards, when the widow of his benefactor was engaged in war, basely betrayed Pharos, and Corcyra, to the Romans; who, as a

* Teuta was his second wife. His first, whom he repudiated, married Demetrius Pharius.

† Not the modern Risano, but an inland town between Scodra and Doclea. See Polybius, lib. ii. c. 1.

‡ Now Lesina, which see, Vol. I. pp. 247, 248. Polybius, iii. 1, 2. Lesina is said by Apollonius to have been remarkable for the number of its pine-trees. See above, Vol. I. p. 251.

reward for his perfidy, confirmed him in the government of Pharos, and some other places. But his ingratitude to them was not less marked than before. On the death of Teuta he made himself guardian of Pineus, the son of Agron, and usurped the chief authority in Illyria; and, thinking the Romans too much engaged in the second Punic war, he commenced a series of intrigues against them, and soon afterwards openly defied their menaces. This led to the second Illyrian war, B.C. 219. L. Æmilius Paulus invaded the country; Demetrius fled to Philip of Macedon; and the kingdom of Illyria was restored to Pineus; who was established on the throne as the rightful monarch, and the friend of Rome. During his reign, and that of Pleurates, his successor, the alliance was maintained between Illyria and the Romans; and assistance was even afforded the Republic by Pleurates, in the Macedonian war.*

In the reign of Gentius, the last King of Illyria, a separation took place amongst the Illyrians. B. C. 180. "This people," says Polybius †, "obeyed Pleuratus as long as he lived, but after his death, on the accession of Gentius, the Dalmatæ revolted;"—having assumed that name from the city of Delminium (or Dalminium), which they chose as the capital of their new state;—and the same had been done, some time before, by the Istrians, during a previous reign.

The territory of the Dalmatæ was, at first, comprehended between the Naro and the Tilurus, or Nestus, and contained at one period twenty cities; it then extended to the Titius; and the whole of this tract received the name of Dalmatia; while that from the Titius to the Arsia‡ assumed the title of Liburnia. The government of both

* Farlati, vol. i. p. 24. 32. † Polybius, Fragm. 124.

‡ Plin. iii. 9. says, "Finis Italiæ fluvius Arsia."

was changed to a republican form; and the inhabitants preserved their liberty about 200 years, until the time when they either delivered themselves up to the dominion of Rome, or were conquered by her armies.

The other district, Istria, after having been governed by its own laws for a short period, was reduced to subjection by the Romans.

In the year 178, B.C. A. Manlius Vulso, the Consul, invaded Istria, and his successor, C. Claudius Pulcher, took Nesatium, the capital, and the other strongholds, Mutila, and Faveria; Epulo, the king, fell by his own sword; and Istria passed under the dominion of Rome.* Carnia had already shared the same fate; and the city of Aquileia, which had received a Latin colony, was the point from which the legions marched to the conquest of the adjoining province.

In the mean time Gentius, deprived of his revenue, by the defection of so many provinces, endeavoured to indemnify himself by plundering the coasts of Italy. In vain the Romans represented the injury done to them, and their allies; the Illyrian king disregarded both their complaints, and their offers of friendship, and made a treaty with Perseus, the avowed enemy of Rome.

The consul L. Æmilius Paulus was conducting the war in Macedonia, when he learnt that Gentius had violated the rights of nations, and had imprisoned the Roman ambassadors. L. Anicius, the prætor, was therefore ordered to advance into Illyria: Scodra, the capital, and their strongest position, was invested; the Illyrians were routed; and Gentius was made prisoner, with his whole family, and sent to Rome. The same year Perseus was conquered by L. Æmilius Paulus, and taken

B. C. 168.

* Liv. Dec. v. lib. 1.

to Italy to adorn his triumph; and Macedonia and Illyria became provinces of Rome.*

After the limits of Dalmatia, (which had been at first confined to the territory between the Naro and Tilurus †,) were extended to the Titius ‡, some of the lands belonging to Tragurium § and Epetium ||, and to the Daorsii, who lived on the Naro, continued to be excluded from it; those two cities being under the protection of the Lissans, and the Daorsii being allies of the Romans. But the vicinity of so restless a people as the Dalmatians could not fail to bring on a subject of dispute; and the Lissans and Daorsii, unable to protect their possessions, claimed the interference of Rome. War was therefore declared against them. C. Martius Figulus, B. C. 156. the consul, entered Dalmatia; and its strongly fortified capital, Delminium, having been taken, the Dalmatians were obliged to sue for peace; and their liberty was only allowed them, on condition of paying tribute to Rome. ¶

Eighteen years after this, war was again declared against the Dalmatians; and P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica having destroyed the walls and public buildings B. C. 135. of Delminium, peace was again granted them, on the same conditions as before; and the capital being soon afterwards deserted, the seat of government was transferred to Salona. Three years after the taking of Delminium, the Ardiæi and Palarii of Illyria were attacked; and, in 129 B. C., the Iapodes, who had resisted C. Sempronius Tuditanus, were defeated by his successor, C. Junius Brutus. The Iapodes inhabited part of Liburnia, to the north of Dalmatia, near

* Liv. Dec. v. lib. 5.

† The Narenta and Cettina.

‡ Now La Kerka.

§ Now Träù.

|| Nothing now remains of Epetium. Part of its site is occupied by Stobretz.

¶ Polybius and Appian.

the Mons Albius; the other two lived to the south of the Naro.

The eighth Illyrian, and the third Dalmatian, war took place, B. C. 117. The latter ended in the taking of Salona, by L. Cæcilius Metellus; and on a subsequent manifestation of discontent, a Roman garrison, with a colony, was imposed upon that city.

The fourth Dalmatian war arose out of their invasion of the territory of the Liburnians, who were allies of the Romans. The absence of J. Cæsar, in Transalpine Gaul, seemed to afford a favourable opportunity for this act of hostility; and the Dalmatians, on a sudden, assailed, and took, the fortified city of Promona. The Liburnians having applied to Cæsar, and placed their whole country under the tutelage of Rome, messengers were sent to order the Dalmatians to restore the city, and quit the territory they had invaded. The Roman troops, however, were not sufficiently strong to enforce these commands, and suffered a defeat: nor could this affront be immediately avenged, in consequence of the civil war, that was then raging between Pompey and Cæsar; and it was not till the year 48 B. C. that Gabinius could advance into Dalmatia; when defeat again awaited the Roman arms, and Gabinius fled to Salona.*

B. C. 51.

Cæsar too, intent on crushing the remains of Pompey's party, had no leisure to attend to the affairs of Dalmatia; and it was not till three years afterwards that order was restored there. Hearing of the army raised by Cæsar to attack the Getæ and Parthians, the Dalmatians feared lest it should be first employed to punish their misconduct; they therefore sued for pardon, and solicited the friendship of Rome: but the injuries and insults they had offered to the Romans were not to be readily forgotten; Vatinius

* Hirtius B. Alexandr. c. 43.

was ordered to enter the country, to impose tribute upon it, and to demand hostages for future good conduct *; and the difficulties he had to encounter, and the credit he claimed to himself † for his successes against the Dalmatians, show how insincere were their professions, and how vigorously they withstood the Roman arms.

Nor did a forced submission secure their fidelity, or ensure for any length of time the tranquillity of the country. Turbulent, and ever ready to take advantage of an opportunity for revolt, the Dalmatians no sooner heard of the death of Cæsar than they forgot their allegiance to Rome; they attacked and defeated the Roman legions; and Vatinius was forced to take refuge in Epidamnus.‡ Fortune again favoured the Dalmatians; and the war against Antony and Octavianus prevented Brutus, to whom the Illyrian province had been decreed, from punishing their defection. B.C. 44.

A change had some time before been made in the extent, and disposition, of that province. All to the south of the Drilo was incorporated in that of Macedonia, and Illyria included the whole of Dalmatia. Latterly, too, Liburnia, which had been voluntarily ceded to the Romans, was admitted into the same province, and its limits were extended from the Tedanus to the Arsia, on the Istrian frontier. (Iadera (now Zara), one of the principal cities, or, according to Pliny and Ptolemy, the capital of Liburnia, also became a Roman colony, under Augustus; on which account the foundation of Iadera has been ascribed

* Appian.

† In his letters to Cicero, dated Narona. Cic. lib. v. Epist. ad famil.

‡ Or Dyrrachium.

to him; though, in fact, he was only the first to make it a Roman city; as we learn from an inscription there, which states that it was *restored* in the time of Augustus.) *

The affairs of Dalmatia were not neglected by Octavianus; and, in the year 34, B. C., having subdued the Pannonians, he led a formidable army into that country. The recollection of their defeat of Gabinius, their attack on the allies of Rome, and their repeated acts of bad faith, urged him to take full vengeance on the Dalmatians: they, on their side, neglected nothing to render their opposition effective; and Promona, in addition to its natural defences, situated on a hill †, was fortified together with the adjacent rocky heights, to resist the Romans.

B. C. 34.

Octavianus, having surrounded the city, and the two hills with a wall for the space of forty stadia ‡, and defeated Teutimus, who had come to its relief, forced an entrance into the town, and obliged the enemy to evacuate the citadel; when the Dalmatians, retiring towards Synodium, situated in a deep gorge between two hills, where Gabinius had been defeated, posted themselves in ambush. Suspecting their intentions, the Roman general sent skirmishers over the high ground, while he advanced through the valley, and burnt Synodium; and, clearing the woods as he proceeded, he took other towns, and besieged the city of Setonia §, into which he prevented the enemy from throwing a considerable reinforcement.

* See Lucio, Farlati's *Illyricum Sacrum*, Catalinich, and Albinoni's Memorie. See also above, Vol. I. p. 80.

† I give these details from Appian, as the site of Promona has been a subject of controversy.

‡ About four miles and a half English.

§ Or Setovia, supposed by Catalinich to be the predecessor of Sign, vol. i. p. 181. He places Synodium at Verbna.

Nor did the necessity of his presence in Rome prevent the successful prosecution of the war; and his return to Dalmatia was followed by the immediate submission of the country. Hostages were given, B. C. 33. the standards taken from Gabinius were restored, and engagements were entered into for paying the owing tribute.

Intimidated by the severe lesson they had received in the last campaign, the Dalmatians did not find themselves in a state to take advantage of the B. C. 31–29. civil war between Octavianus and Antony; the conqueror of Actium found them still faithful to their promises; and on his return to Rome, he enjoyed, under his new title of Augustus, the three triumphs decreed to him, the Dalmatian, the Actian, and the Egyptian. And being pressed by the Senate and people to retain the imperial authority he had proposed to abdicate, he proceeded to portion out the provinces of the empire, between himself and the Senate. Italy was divided into eleven regions, one of which, the tenth, comprised Istria and Carnia, that had been separated from Illyria; and Italy was extended to the river Arsia. Dalmatia was also advanced northwards, to the river Save.

In the year 16, and again in 11, B. C., the Dalmatians evinced symptoms of discontent, which were speedily appeased by Tiberius; but some years B.C. 16—11. afterwards they joined the revolted Pannonians, and raised so formidable an opposition to the Romans, that Suetonius considers it to have been attended with greater difficulties than any since the Punic war.

The Roman arms had suffered a defeat in Germany; and Tiberius was appointed by Augustus to lead a formidable army into that country. Troops A. D. 6. were collected from various parts of the empire, and

Valerius Messalinus, the Governor of Dalmatia and Pannonia, was ordered to levy contributions of men and money in those provinces. The Dalmatians, in compliance with these demands, assembled at the appointed place of meeting; when seeing their numbers, and the martial bearing of their companions, and instigated by the councils of Bato, they turned their arms against the Romans, who were sent to collect the Dalmatian contingent. The demand for troops from the Pannonians was attended by similar results, arising probably from a preconcerted plan; and the Romans found themselves embarrassed by the rebellion of these provinces, at a moment when all the forces they could muster were required for the German war.

Bato, the Dalmatian general, was a man of great bravery, and talent; and having laid siege to Salona, the stronghold of the Romans, he carried on the war, with various success, for four years. At length Rhætimus, and the fortified town of Seretium, were captured by Germanicus; and Tiberius having joined him, laid siege to Anderium* (the modern Clissa), on the mountain pass near Salona; the position of which, on an inaccessible rock, surrounded by deep ravines, or torrent-beds, is very correctly described by Dio. Every effort was required, on the part of the Romans, to overcome the natural obstacles of the place, and to withstand the missiles to which they were exposed: immense blocks, round wooden cases, and even carts, filled with stones, were launched upon them by the Dalmatians, from the rocks without the walls; and it was not till their own missiles could reach their opponents, that the Romans gained any advantage. Tiberius no sooner perceived them give way, than he detached a body of men to cut off their return to the town; when those within the walls, fearing

* Or Andetrium. See above, Vol. I. p. 170.

to admit foes as well as friends, closed the gates, and left their comrades to perish by the hands of the besiegers*; and at length, despairing of further resistance, they surrendered the place to the Romans.

Arduba†, a strong town on a hill, surrounded by a rapid river that washed its base, was also delivered up to Germanicus and Postumius; and the latter, being appointed *Præpositus* of Dalmatia, completed the conquest of the country; compelling Bato to sue for peace, and give his son a hostage for his fidelity to Rome.

After the final conquest of Dalmatia and Pannonia, Illyricum was again enlarged, by incorporating with it Rhætia, Vindelicia, Noricum, and Pannonia; and it appears that Mœsia, Dacia, and other districts to the south‡, were afterwards added to it.

The extent of Illyricum continued the same, from the reign of Augustus until the division of the empire. The whole of Macedonia, with the first and second Mœsia, as far as Mount Scardus, the Drilo, and the Danube, was then given to Arcadius, and all beyond Pannonia and Dalmatia to Honorius. Illyria was also divided, like the Empire, into its eastern and western sections.

In the fifth century, Illyria was invaded by the Goths, Alans, Vandals, Huns, and other barbarous hordes; and the Suevi made inroads into Dalmatia, about 461. But the courage of Marcellinus was enabled still to maintain the Roman power there; and though the allegiance of that general to the Emperor was doubtful, and he had

* The woods in the vicinity, mentioned by Dio (like the others in Dalmatia), have disappeared from the now barren mountains. Dio, lib. lvi. 8. See above, p. 9., and Vol. I. pp. 38. 229. 251.

† See above, Vol. I. p. 212. ‡ See above, Vol. I. p. 36.

assumed independent authority over the province, it was for the time protected from the inroads of those invaders. In 481, the Heruli, under Odoacer, obtained a footing in Dalmatia; after whose death it passed under the dominion of Theodosia; and it was not till Justinian had restored the drooping power of the Empire that Italy, Dalmatia, and part of Pannonia were rescued from the Goths, (A. D. 535.)

In the reign of the same Emperor, the limits of Dalmatia * were advanced eastward over Pannonia. It was then divided into maritime, and inland, Dalmatia: the former extending from Istria through Liburnia, Dalmatia, and northern Albania, with the adjacent islands; and the latter lying to the east of the range † of mountains, known under the names of Albius, Bebius, Ardius ‡, and Scardus.

Dalmatia had been first placed, by Augustus, under consular jurisdiction; and had been intrusted to the rule of a proconsul, appointed by the Senate. But the frequent attempts of the people, to recover their liberty, showed the necessity of maintaining a strong force in the country, and induced him to take it under his own management; he therefore transferred it from the authority of a consular, to that of a prætorian, governor; and P. Cornelius Dolabella was appointed proprætor of Dalmatia. This office he held, under Augustus, and his successor; as is attested by inscriptions found at Epidaurus, and Iadera; which mention Dolabella as the "Legatus Proprætor" of those Emperors.

There was at that time no seat of government, or capital; but the province was divided into regions, called *Dœceses,* or *Conventus;* each region consisting of several

* Illyricum and Dalmatia are often used synonymously.

† The modern Prolog range. ‡ Or Adrius.

villages and towns, with the lands appertaining to them; and one city was selected, within it, as a place of general meeting, where the prætor * decided causes, and where all affairs, both public and private, were discussed. Maritime Dalmatia consisted of three *Conventus*, which were called from the chief towns, the Scardonitan, the Salonitan, and the Naronitan.

The jurisdiction of the *Proprætor*, or *Legatus Augustalis*, does not appear to have extended throughout the whole of Dalmatia, but merely over the maritime portion; the inland district either having its own governor, or being under the præfect of Pannonia. The title too of the governor varied at different periods. At the beginning of the third century, Apronianus and Dio Cassius Coccejus were styled *præsides;* and the same designation was given to Tarquinius, who ruled the country in the reign of Diocletian.

In process of time, the city of Salona became distinguished as the capital of the province; and great favour was shown to it, from having been the first seat of a Roman colony in Dalmatia. From that circumstance, as well as from the wealth it possessed, and the desire of obtaining possession of so important a city, the attacks of the barbarous hordes, which assailed the empire in the fifth century, were directed against Salona; and being at length destroyed, in 639, it ceased to be a city; and the title of capital of Dalmatia was afterwards transferred to Zara. This was at the beginning of the ninth century, when the country had become Slavonic, and, with the exception of the maritime towns, independent of the Byzantine empire; which has already been mentioned in the History of Dalmatia. †

* This title is still retained in Dalmatia.

† See above, pp. 220, 221.

(B.)

THE SLAVONIANS IN THE MOREA.

A singular fact has been established by Fallmerayer, in his History of the Morea during the middle ages*, that this part of Greece was in the possession of Slavonians, from the sixth to the eighth, or even ninth, century; which accounts for the many Slavonic names of places still found there, and explains in a satisfactory manner the origin of the name Morea. A common notion is, that it was so called from the number of its *mulberry* trees; (though it was not more noted for them than many other parts of the Byzantine empire;) but it is far more reasonable to derive the name of that sea-girt peninsula from *móré*, "the sea;" especially as the Byzantine writers never used it, and always retained that of Peloponnesus; since they would not have objected to its adoption, had it been a Greek word, and their only reason for rejecting it must have been its barbaric origin.

I ought properly to leave this, and the whole subject of the Slavonians, to one, who, from his intimate knowledge of it, is so much more capable of doing it justice, and who will shortly give the world the benefit of his researches; but the imperfect remarks I offer may perhaps induce those who are interested in the question, to seek for fuller information from a better, and more copious, source, in the forthcoming work of Count Valerian Krasinski, on the Slavonic races.

I have been indebted to him for much information on the subject; and the following is a summary of his observations on the History of Fallmerayer, relative to the Morea.

* Two volumes, 1830–36, in German.

. . . . . "The most remarkable part of it is his decided opinion that the modern Greek population (of the Morea), is not composed of the descendants of the countrymen of Miltiades, Socrates, and Plato, but that they are derived from the Slavonic hordes; a statement which created a considerable outcry amongst the Philhellenes, but one to which no conclusive refutation appears to have been offered.

"It is well known that the Slavonians, who had begun to make frequent inroads into the Greek Empire, under Justinian I., were conquered, during the second part of the sixth century, by the Asiatic nation of the Avars, who had been induced by the Court of Byzantium to attack the Slavonians. The Avars, however, became more formidable enemies of the Greek empire, than the Slavonians had been; and these last, now marching under the banners of the Khan, as the vanguard of the Avars, penetrated to the very walls of Constantinople.

"The whole of the Peloponnesus was devastated by the Slavonians, with the exception of the Acro-Corinthus, with its two sea-ports, (Cenchrea, and Lecheum,) Patras, Modon, Coron, Argos with the adjacent country, Anapli in the present district of Praslo, Vitylos on the western slope of the Taygetus, and the highlands of Maina. The rest of the Peloponnesus was reduced to a complete desert, and the inhabitants, who had not perished, or been dragged into captivity, fled either to the above-mentioned strong places, or to the islands of the Archipelago.

"It may, however, be objected that, although the present Morea was completely devastated, like many other provinces of the empire, it does not follow that it was re-peopled by a Slavonic population, like Thrace, Mœsia, and some other countries, where the inhabitants even

now speak a Slavonic dialect; and, since those of the Morea use the Romaic, or modern Greek idiom, that it is more natural to suppose, that the ancient inhabitants of the Peloponnesus returned to their own soil, when the flood of barbarism had rolled back.

"But this objection may be met by the remark that many localities in the Morea, described by Pausanias, and even by Procopius, have disappeared, and that a great number, bearing Slavonic names, have replaced them. Who, indeed, can doubt that such names, as Vostitza, Goritza*, Slavitza, Veligosti, and others†, are Slavonic, and not Hellenic? and how can local names be given except by the inhabitants of a country? Besides, the inhabitants from whose language the names were derived, must have remained a considerable time on the spot, when the names continue in use, after the people themselves have disappeared, as a nation, from the country, where the places named by them are situated.

"This is the case in the Morea, as well as in the north of Germany; where, too, the names of many towns are Slavonic, though the inhabitants of the country have been entirely Germanised; as, for instance, Leipsic‡, Kamenz§, Rostock‖, &c.

"The existence of the Slavonians in the north of Germany is a known historical fact; and there is also sufficient historical evidence to prove, that the Morea was no less Slavonic; which is readily obtained from an attentive perusal of the Byzantine writers. Cedrenus, Theophanes, and the Patriarch Nicephorus, who wrote in the eighth

* Formerly Mantinea. † See below.

‡ "Lipetsk, from lipa, 'linden tree.'"

§ "From Kamen, 'stone.'"

‖ "A purely Slavonic word, signifying 'flowing asunder.'"

century, call the country, from the Danube to the highland of Arcadia and Messenia, *Sclabinia* *, 'the country of the Slavi;' and Constantine Porphyrogenitus says †, that, at the time of Constantine Copronymus (749–75), the whole of the Peloponnesus was *slavonised* and barbarised. The same imperial writer ‡ says, that in the reign of Michael III. (842–67), an army was sent, under the command of the Protospatar Theoctistes, to conquer the 'Sclaves' of the Peloponnesus; and that they were all conquered, with the exception of the Milingi and Eseritæ, who inhabited Lacedæmonia and Elis. It does not therefore appear that further evidence is required, to prove that the Morea was, at that time, entirely inhabited by the Slavonians.

"Fallmerayer has established the precise date of their conquest of that country, having obtained the information, as he observes, by a *miracle* of St. Peter, in the following manner. In a letter, addressed by the Patriarch of Constantinople, Nicholas, to the Emperor Alexius Comnenus, in 1081, he quotes a bull of the Emperor Nicephorus I., elevating the Archbishopric of Patras to the dignity of a metropolitan see, and subjecting to its jurisdiction the three bishoprics of the Peloponnesus, on account of the *personal* assistance, which St. Peter gave the inhabitants of Patras, when besieged by the Avars § (Slavonians) of the Peloponnesus, two hundred and eighteen years after

* Or *Sclavinia*, the *b* being pronounced *v*.

† In his Thematibus, part ii. thema 6.

‡ De Administrando Imperio, part ii. chap. 50.

§ This confusion of the Avars and Slavonians has been noticed by many writers; and was owing to their having for a long time fought under the same banners. See above, Vol. I. pp. 15, 16. and 157. note.

the conquest of that peninsula by the same Avars. Nicephorus reigned between 802 and 811, consequently the siege of Patras, and the miraculous assistance, happened between the years 807 and 808; and as it is known, from Constantine Porphyrogenitus, that Patras was besieged by the Slavonians, with the assistance of the Saracens, in the sixth year of Nicephorus' reign, it follows that the conquest of the Peloponnesus took place in 589–90.

"This date coincides with the narrative of Evagrius, who says, that the Avars had devastated the whole of Hellas, the same year that Antioch, where he was living, was destroyed by an earthquake, which happened sixty-one years after a similar catastrophe in the same city.* The above-mentioned letter of the Patriarch of Constantinople also says: that before the victory of Patras, no Greek durst enter the country inhabited by the foreign invaders, showing how completely it was occupied by them.

"The dominion of the Avars, who had nearly ruined the Greek empire, was shaken to its very foundation by the revolt of the Slavonians in the west, towards the end of the reign of Heraclius; the Slavonic nations of Chrobati and Serbs† having been called in by that Emperor, to expel them from the provinces south of the Danube. This left the Slavonians in quiet possession of the Peloponnesus, and the other lands they had wrested from the Avars; where, as they had done in other countries, they adopted the peaceful pursuits of agriculture and industry, and even lost that warlike character they had displayed, during the invasions of the Greek empire; affording to the Byzantine monarchs an opportunity for attacking them with success;

* That was in 528. See Gibbon.

† A. D. 634. See above, Vol. I. pp. 15, 16, 17.

and Constans II. (642—668) began a war on the country of 'Sclavinia,' in order to open a communication between the capital on one side, and Philippi and Thessalonica on the other. Justinian II. (685–95, and 705–10) also made a successful expedition against the Slavonians, and transplanted a great number of the prisoners he took into Asia Minor; after which, the Greek empire became invigorated for a time, under the Isaurian dynasty; and Constantine Copronymus (741–75) advanced in his conquest of 'Sclavinia' as far as Berea, to the south of Thessalonica; which is evident from an inspection of the frontier of the empire, made by order of the Empress Irene, in 783. The conquest of the Slavonians of the Peloponnesus, by the Greeks under Michael III., with the exception of the Milingi and Eseritæ, has been noticed; but their final subjugation only took place (in 867–86), under the Emperor Basilius I., or the Macedonian; after which the Christian religion, and Greek civilisation, completely Hellenised them, as their brethren on the Baltic were Germanised."

The fact of the Slavonians having occupied the Morea for so long a period is sufficiently interesting, and important, without admitting the extreme conclusions drawn from it by Fallmerayer. Many other names of places, besides those above mentioned, may be produced to prove they were given by Slavonians; and no one can doubt that Graditza*, Podgora†, Planitza‡, Velimaki§, and Velitzes, Camenitza‖, Voda¶, Vervitza, and the many others terminating in *itza*, are quite as Slavonic as those in Dalmatia, or any other country where that language is used; these certainly show that the country was long oc-

* "The small city," or "town."
† "Under the hill."
‡ "The mountain."
§ From *Veli*, "great."
‖ From *Kamen*, "a stone."
¶ "Water."

cupied by Slavonians; but the conclusion, that the modern Greeks are not descendants of the compatriots of Miltiades, and Plato, is not justified by the known and general effects of conquest.

Many countries have been long in the possession of foreign invaders, who have settled there, changed the names of towns, and introduced their own language and customs; but they have not been altogether deprived of their original population; the peasantry are always found too useful to the conquerors to be entirely extirpated, and the dominant race is contented to profit by their labours. It is only when whole tribes immigrate, either with a view to seize a new and productive country, or when expelled from their own seats, by the usurpation of a stronger horde, that the conquered population runs a risk of total extermination; and even then, many inaccessible strongholds, in mountainous districts, are generally kept by bands of native fugitives.

But supposing that the whole of the Morea was inhabited *solely* by Slavonians, and that every Greek was expelled, (which Fallmerayer himself does not assert,) yet the reconquest of the country by the Greeks, who *re-peopled* it, would bring back the Greek race; and his admission that the Slavonians were "Hellenised" would suffice to show the numbers of the Greeks who were still there, or who came back afterwards into the Morea.

That the Greeks became mixed with the Slavonic race is highly probable; and Greek blood, as well as language, in the Morea, has always been thought to be most pure in the mountainous district of Maina, where the people continued to be uncontaminated by foreign intercourse; but the Greeks of the Morea bear as near a relationship to the ancient inhabitants of Greece, as the populations of other

districts occupied by Northern invaders, during the dark ages, to the previous occupants of their country.

The Moreote character, too, bears a far stronger resemblance to that of the ancient Greeks, than of the Slavonians, or any other people, as do their customs, the habits of their different communities, their feelings, and disposition; and though they inherit few of the noble qualities of their ancestors, they possess their acuteness and cunning, and are equally "dolis instructi, et arte Pelasgâ" with the Greeks of old.

(C.)

THE KINGS OF SERVIA.

THE early History of Servia *, is very obscure. The Servians †, after having been conquered by the Bulgarians, whose yoke they had thrown off in 924, were made subject to the Byzantine Emperor, Basil, called the "Slayer of the Bulgarians," in 1018. They recovered their liberty under Bodino ‡ (Bodin), about 1085; and it was secured to them by Ourosh I., surnamed *Bieli* ("the fair") some time afterwards; when from Duke, he became King, of Servia, and the head of a line of princes, of the family of Nemagna §, who occupied the throne for upwards of two centuries. The most distinguished of them was Stephen Dûshan, who took the title of Emperor, in 1346.

Some of the Servian princes were rulers of Servia, others of Croatia, Bosnia, and Rascia, Albania, and Maritime (southern) Dalmatia; but the names and date of many of the earlier kings are far from certain. To begin with Radoslav I., the 25th in succession from the supposed founder of the kingdom ‖, they are as follow ¶: —

* It is sometimes called Slavonia; but this can only be used as a comprehensive name for the Slavonian states, of which Servia was one. See above, p. 255., and Vol. I. pp. 313, 314. 316.

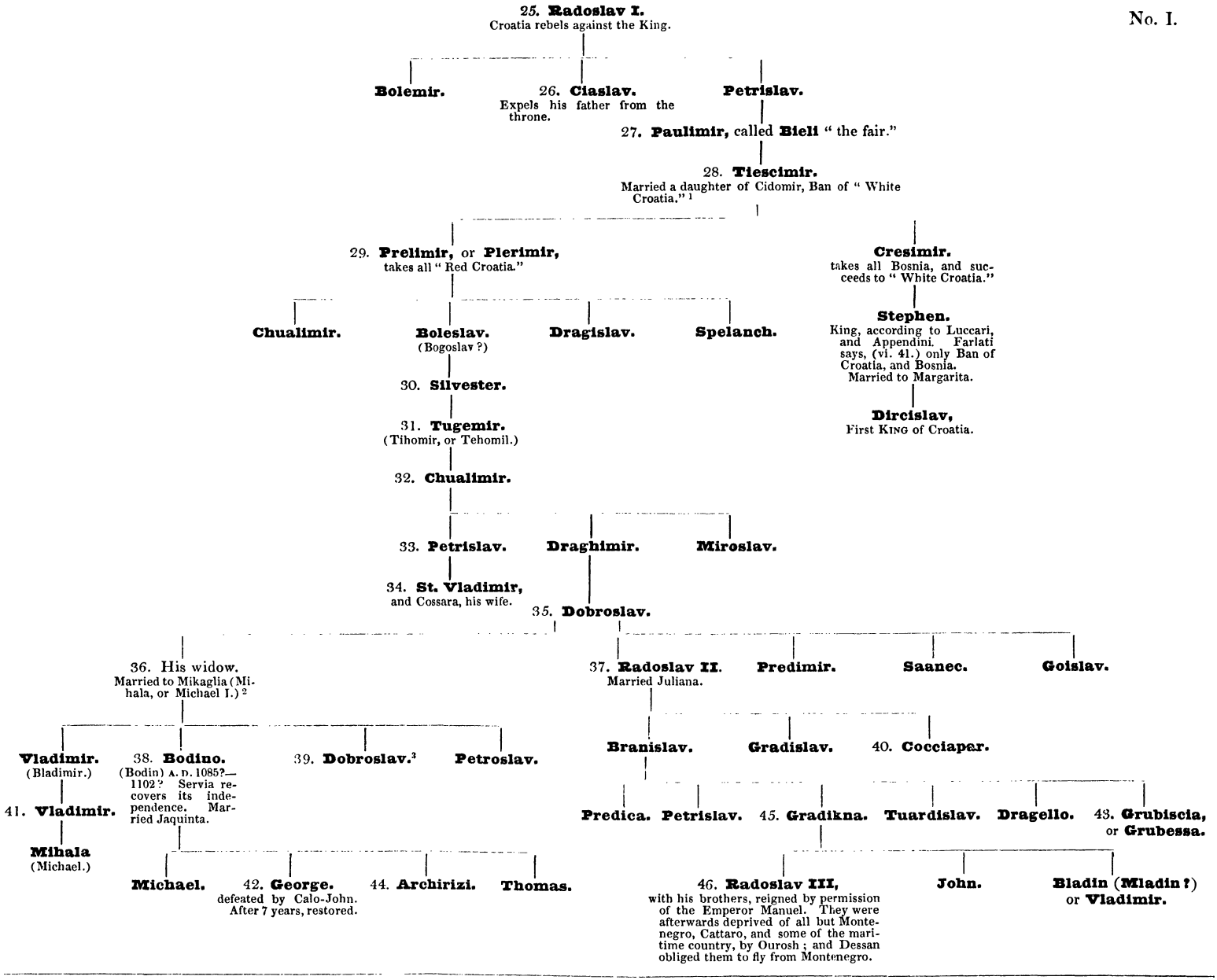
† The idea of Charlemagne having extended his sway over the Servians probably arose from his conquest of the Syrbs, called in the Western Chronicles, Sorabi, who inhabited the banks of the Elbe. The remnants of that nation exist in Lusatia, under the name of Wends, although they call themselves Syrbs, or Serbs.

‡ Von Engel says, Stephen Boislav, father of Michael I., freed Servia from the Byzantines, about 1040.

§ Niemania, or Nieman.

‖ According to Mico Marulo, in Lucio, p. 447.

¶ On the authority of Mico Marulo, the Presbyter of Dioclea, Farlati, Appendini, Von Engel, Bystrzonowski, and others.



[1] Thomas Archidiac. (c. xiii.) says, his successor Dircislav lived in 790, and received his title from the Byzantine Emperor. See the Kings of Croatia, above, p. 230. note, and p. 226.

[2] Farlati (vi. 56.) says he was *son* of Dobroslav. Von Engel (Hist. Ragusa, p. 67.) says son of Stephen Boislav.

[3] Dobroslav, Cocciapar, and Vladimir, were probably only nominally successors of Bodino. Von Engel (Hist. Ragusa, p. 74.) says Bodin was followed by Vulcan (Velkan); but his son George may be considered his real successor.

47. **OUROSH I.** or **Bieli-Urosh.**
Servia becomes independent of the Byzantine Court.

- 48. **Dessan,** (or Tehomil), Duke of Chelmo, becomes King of all Servia.
  - 49. **STEPHEN,** surnamed **NEMAGNA,** (or Nieman), 1177—1196. He was also Grand-Jupan of Rascia. Married Anne, daughter of Barich, Ban of Bosnia.
    - *50.* **Stephen,** surnamed Tehomil, afterwards called Simeon.[4] He was the first who took the title of *King* of Rascia. He had also the surname of *Pervovenchanny*, "*the first crowned*," converted into *Vencianus*; married, *first*, a daughter of the Emperor Alexius; *secondly*, a daughter of Henry Dandolo. He afterwards became a monk; when he took the name of Simeon.
      - *51.* **Stephen Radoslav,**[5] 1197—1250, married Maria[6], daughter of Theodore Lascaris, was called Krapavii Kral (Krapalo), styled himself "King of Servia, and the Maritime Coast." Probably the same as Velkan[7], who was King in 1197 and in 1203.
        - *54.* **Stephen Dragutin,** married a daughter of Stephen, King of Hungary.
        - *55.* **Stephen Ourosh III.**[9] called Milutin, ruled over part, then over all the kingdom of Servia; the rest being ceded to him by his brother.
          - *56.* **Stephen Ourosh IV.** natural son of Milutin.
            - *57.* **STEPHEN DUSHAN**[11], called "the strong," 1333—1356, conquered great part of Macedonia in 1337—1340. He joined the Emperor John Cantacuzene, in 1342, and took Edessa; but in 1343 he embraced the cause of the Emperor's adversaries, when Cantacuzene sought assistance from the Turks, and with them defeated the Servians. Dushan, in 1346, conquered Pheres, and assumed the title of Emperor of the Servians, Greeks, and Albanians.[12] He detached the priesthood of his country from the supremacy of the Patriarch of Constantinople, and published a code of laws, in 1349. Cantacuzene tried in vain, with the assistance of his son-in-law Orcan, to retake Macedonia from Dushan; who made a league with John Palæologus, in 1351, but was defeated at Demotica by Cantacuzene, and the Turks. In 1356, Dushan marched on Constantinople, with an army of 80,000 men, and died during the expedition. He left a widow, Helena.
              - *58.* **Stephen Ourosh V.**[14] 1356—1367, took the title of Emperor.[15] The boyars made themselves independent in the Southern provinces, and he was murdered, in 1368, by Vukashin, Kral of Pheres, who was one of the nobles attached to the Servian court.
                - *59.* **Vukashin,** was defeated, and killed, by the Turks, in 1371; after which, Sultan Amurath sent troops into Macedonia and Albania.
                  - 61. **Stephen Lazarovich.**[17] 1390—1428, made King, or rather despot, of Servia, by Sultan Bajazet Ilderim, who had married his sister. One of his daughters married Sultan Amurath II. Rascia taken by Tuartko I., King of Bosnia.
                    - 62. **George Brancovich,** 1428[19]—1458, a contemporary of Scanderbeg, was deposed in 1458.[20]
                    - **Lazarus,** left a widow named Helena[21], a princess of the house of Palæologus.
                      - 63. **Helena,** made Queen by the Pope, dethroned by Sultan Mahomet II., in 1459; when Servia became a province of Turkey.
                  - A daughter, married to Vuk Brancovich.
                - 60. **Lazarus Grebelianovich,** natural son of Dushan. 1371—1389, when he was killed at the battle of Kosovo-pólé, through the treachery of Vuk Brancovich. He had only the title of Kniaz, prince, or despot.[16]
              - **Dushitza**[13], died in infancy.
            - **Constantine?** killed, fighting against his brother.
        - **Dessan**[10], Jupan.
      - **Predislav,** or Rasko, Archbishop of Servia.
    - *53.* **Stephen Ourosh II.** called Veliki Kral, "the great King," and Grand-Jupan of Rascia. His share of the kingdom taken from him by the King of Hungary, and given to his brother, Velkan.[8]
    - **Peter,** Lord of Chelmo, or Zaculmia.
  - **Miroslav.**
  - A daughter, married to a Venetian Count.
- **Chudomil,** (or Bodino?)
- **Helena,** married Bela II. King of Hungary.
- A Daughter.
- **David Stratzimir,** (or Strascimir) called also Constantine.
- A daughter, married to Sultan Bajazet.
- A daughter, married to George Balsha, ruler of Montenegro.[18]

[4] Appendini makes Simeon brother, and successor, of Stephen Tehomil (see above, Vol. I. p. 301.); the obscurity of Servian history, however, makes his error very excusable.

[5] A document signed by Stephen Radoslav, and his two brothers, "the Lords Vladislav, and Urosh," is given by Farlati (vi. 440.), with the date 1250 A.D. It mentions George, (son of Bodino) King, in 1115. Farlati says, Stephen Milutin and Dragutin were his sons.

[6] "De domo chieriz" (Lascaris) "de Franciâ," called also Helena. Farlati, vi. 440. He gives the title of Krapavii, or Krapalo, to Stephen Ourosh II., not to Radoslav, vi. 436. Krapalo, or Khrapalo, translated by Appendini "the leper," is properly "the hoarse," or "the snorer."

[7] Or Volcan Nemagna. Von Engel says he was Grand-Jupan of Chelmo. Hist. of Ragusa, p. 89.

[8] Farlati, vol. vi. p. 440.

[9] Micha Madio (c. xii. 16.) says, Stephen Ourosh of Rascia died in 1321, and was succeeded by his natural son Stephen. He calls Vladislav, "*nephew* of Ourosh." Lucio, pp. 375, 376. See also Farlati, vi. pp. 31. 445. But Appendini makes the son of Milutin ascend the throne about 1288. See above, Vol. I. p. 310.

[10] According to Appendini (i. p. 282.), who says that Dessan succeeded his father Vladislav, as *King* of Servia. This is evidently an error.

[11] Farlati (vi. 127.) states that Dushan was son of Stephen, the natural son of Ourosh Milutin, and ascended the throne in 1323. Dushan in his letter, given by Farlati (vi. 127.), says he succeeded his father, Stephen, and his grandfather, Stephen Ourosh.

[12] "Romaniæ, Sclavoniæ, et Albaniæ Imperator," as he styled himself. Farlati, vi. 127.

[13] This name was a term of endearment, meaning "little soul;" and Dushan signified "soul."

[14] He is always considered the last of the House of Nemagna: and Lazarus was a natural son of Dushan, adopted by the boyar Grebelianovich.

[15] Farlati, vi. p. 134.

[16] Farlati, vi. 451. Kniaz generally signifies "Count." See above, p. 284. and Vol. I. p. 26.

[17] Appendini (i. 303.) calls him Stephen Vukovich, and says one of his daughters was married to a nephew of the Empress Barbara, the other to Sultan Amurath. Gibbon (c. lxvii. A.D. 1450–52. note,) refers to Cantemir, who styles the latter "the daughter of Lazarus Ogli, and the Helen of the Servians." He "places her marriage with Amurath in 1424." Gibbon calls her Maria, and says on the death of the Sultan, she was proposed to the Greek Emperor Constantine.

[18] See above, p. 478.

[19] Gibbon (c. lxviii. A.D. 1444.) speaks of his restoration.

[20] Appendini says George, King (Despot) of Servia, fled from Antivari to Ragusa in 1440. See above, Vol. I. p. 323.

[21] Appendini (i. 307.) calls her "Anne, wife of Lazarus, despot of Servia." See above, Vol. I. p. 326.

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